

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

READING, WRITING AND RECITATION:
SANĀ'Ī AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PERSIAN GHAZAL

VOLUME ONE

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gar tavānid gah gah-am be-do`ā
yād dārid mehtar o bornā
keh biāmorz-aš ay xodā-ye xabir
`odr-e taqṣir-hā az-u be-paḍir

If you can, elders and youths,
remember me from time to time in prayer,
asking: "Forgive him, All-knowing Lord;
accept his apologies for his mistakes."
--Sanā'i, *Hadiqat al-ḥaqiqat*, 744.

But let the poet on his balcony
Speak and the sleepers in their sleep shall move,
Waken, and watch the moonlight on their floors.
--Wallace Stevens,
From "Academic Discourse at Havanna"

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I dedicate the fruits of my labors, such as they are.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

I have devised my own system of transliteration for Persian, which is adapted in large measure from that used by the *Encyclopædia Iranica*, but has borrowed some elements from the International Phonetic Alphabet and from the conventions for Sanskrit transliteration. The predominant considerations have been economy and the limitations of diacritical marks that can be produced with WordPerfect 5.1 for DOS-based Personal Computers.

The Library of Congress transliteration system is too heavily based on Arabic to adequately render Persian, especially in so far as the vowels are concerned. The International Phonetic Alphabet has the advantages of phonemic precision, but it is more useful for linguistic than literary transliteration purposes. I have chosen the letter "c" to represent Persian "ch" (IPA č, like the "ch" in church); the letter "x" to represent the "kh" in Arabic and Persian (like the "ch" in Bach); and the letter "ġ" to render Perso-Arabic ġayn. Morphemes (e.g., the plural marker -hā, the -e of the *eżāfeh*, and the indefinite -i) and compound words (e.g. *Šāh-nāmeḥ*) have been separated with a dash. I have followed a slightly different system for transliterating Arabic as versus Persian words, primarily in the vowels (note, however, that Arabic t and Persian s represent the same consonant), though

there are admittedly murky areas (such as a Persian book with an Arabic title), where the choice of one or the other convention is fairly arbitrary.

A somewhat arbitrary compromise has been reached between transliteration and transcription (e.g., *beh* and *keh* for "to" and "that"). The word "ghazal" has been treated as if it were an English word when it designates the sonnet-like Persian fixed verse form; when it is used in titles or in its non-specific sense, it is rendered in transliteration (*ġazal*). The name of the astronomer, mathematician and poet, 'Omar Xayyām, has been given in its standard English usage: Khayyám.

I trust that those who need to reconstruct the original will be able to do so.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BSOAS -- *Bulletin of the Society of Oriental and African Studies*
- DS -- *Divān-e Sanā'ī*. Edited by Modarres-e Rażavi, 2nd ed.
- EIr -- *Encyclopædia Iranica*
- EI2 -- *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
- IJMES -- *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
- JAL -- *Journal of Arabic Literature*
- JAOS -- *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JNES -- *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JRAS -- *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- OPP -- J. T. P. de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*. [see Bibliography].
- ZDMG -- *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländen Gesellschaft*

INTRODUCTION

Speaking of the *Divān* of Sanā'i, E. G. Browne noted nearly ninety years ago that "there are probably few unexplored mines of Persian poetry which would yield to the diligent seeker a richer store of gems."¹ Indeed, Sanā'i's *Divān* is a particularly rich source to be gleaned for evidence about the history of the development of the ghazal genre, about the circumstances of patronage and about the conditions of recitation and the performance traditions of Persian poetry in the medieval period.

The present study began as an approach to the problematic question of the unity of the Persian ghazal. The question of the organic unity or structural coherence of individual ghazals and of the ghazal as a genre is one of the thorniest and most hotly-contested questions in the field of Persian literature. None of the proposals so far offered by scholars have been able to satisfactorily account for how and what meaning inheres in the ghazal. By focussing on the origins and early history of the genre, as reflected in the ghazals of Sanā'i, this study suggests several alternative explanations

¹ E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: From Firdawsī to Sa'dī* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 322.

development up to the time of Hāfez, and the process by which specific meaning inhered in and coalesced around the conventional symbols of the genre, depending on the textual communities for which they were written.

Sanā'i is recognized as the "father of the ghazal," and, although he was by no means the first post-Islamic Persian poet to compose short lyrical poems, many (though not all) of his ghazals correspond to the later formal criteria by which literary theorists recognized and defined the classical Persian ghazal. Furthermore, Sanā'i is the first Persian poet who composed a large number of ghazals, or rather, whose corpus of ghazals (approximately 450) was considered sufficiently important or "literary" that the bulk of them were committed to paper and transmitted down to the present day. He was also the first poet to include his pen-name, or *taxalloṣ*, as a common feature of his shorter poems. Arberry has noted the central importance of the *taxalloṣ* as a defining characteristic of the ghazal as an independent form and has implicitly recognized Sanā'i's importance in the historical development of this genre.² Sanā'i therefore played a central role in the crystallization of the classical Persian ghazal as a fixed form, and by focussing on his poems, and the early

² A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958), 13.

history of the genre,³ the persistent questions about its structure may be more clearly answered.

Sanā'i composed his ghazals for a variety of audiences and purposes. These include Bahrāmšāh, the Ghaznavid Sultan; lesser Ghaznavid officials, such as army officers; members of formal Sufi orders; mystically inclined jurists; and for performance at popular entertainments, often set to music. Though the hagiographical accounts about Sanā'i's sudden conversion to Sufism and his forswearing the practice of court poetry are patently untrue, Meisami notes that Sanā'i was "never fully committed (or fully accepted) as a court poet," and that changes in patronage may produce dramatic changes in style.⁴ It is in part this situation that led to Sanā'i's cultivation of the ghazal as an alternative form to the courtly *qaṣīdeh*.

Obviously, then, in addition to the internal structure of the poems and their thematic development, we would do well to consider their intended audience, or "textual community," in order to fully close the hermeneutic circle. To date, as Meisami further notes, "no attempt has been made to assemble

³ For an assessment of the major literary histories of Persian see H. Moayyad, "Tārix-e adabiāt-e fārsi: morur-i bar savābeq va nazar-i dar-bāreh-ye in fann," *Iranshenasi* 3, 1 (Spring 1370/1991): 71-84. It is hoped that the present study may contribute in some small way to the complete and comprehensive history of Persian literature proposed in this article.

⁴ J. Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 281 and 312.

information from the poems themselves or from other sources with a view to arriving at a clearer picture of performance conditions."⁵

The first chapter traces the etymology of the word *ghazal*, explores the historical development of the ghazal as a genre, and emphasizes its origins as a performance and musical art form. The second chapter is devoted to Sanā'i's life, the various audiences for which his poetry was performed, and the socio-cultural factors which converged to replace the *qaṣīdeh* with the ghazal as the pre-eminent genre of Persian literature. Because the textual history of Sanā'i's poetry is complex and somewhat suspect, Chapter Three focusses on Persian codicology, the transmission history of various types of Persian poetry, the question of the social uses of manuscripts, and the contribution that their bibliographic codes make to the creation of the "meaning" of the texts that they contain is addressed in Chapter Three. After addressing these questions, some suggestions are made for any future edition of Sanā'i's poems. Fifty of Sanā'i's ghazals, selected and categorized according to ten distinct sub-genres, *topoi* or moods, are then presented in Chapter Four, which contains the English translation for each of these fifty poems, in addition to the Persian text, based upon the edition of Modarres-e Rażavi and two of the oldest manuscripts of Sanā'i's *Divān*. In the concluding chapter an *explication de*

⁵ *ibid.*, 313.

texte is offered for each of these fifty poems, along with an analysis of the form and structure of the poem, as well as a discussion of the iconology and typography of the sub-genre to which it belongs.

CHAPTER ONE

OF PROSODY, FORMS, GENRES AND THEMATICS

With typical logic and energy, E.G. Browne sought to replace the medieval classification of Persian poetry, which recognized eleven discrete forms or genres--*ghazal*, *qaṣīdeh*, *tašbib*, *qeṭ'eh*, *robā'i*, *fard*, *maṣnavi*, *tarji'-band*, *tarkib-band*, *mostazād*, *mosammaṭ*--with a more concise and functional description. Browne argued that "the classification adopted in the *Haft Qulzum* (and also by Gladwin) is neither clear nor satisfactory,"¹ and proposed instead to divide the corpus of Persian poetry into three major prosodical classes or "verse-forms:"

- 1) the "one-rhymed," including the *qaṣīdeh*, the *qeṭ'eh*, the *ghazal*, the *tarji'*- and *tarkib-band* and the *robā'i*;
- 2) "the many-rhymed" consisting of the *maṣnavi* or "couplet-poem;" and,
- 3) "multiple poems" including the *mosammaṭ* and its various permutations.²

¹ Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Ferdowsi to Sa'di*, v. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 23. F. Rückert based his *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1874) on this "highly convoluted Indo-Persian work," written in the 19th century and printed in Lucknow in 1821, one of the first works printed on the first Arabic printing press in India. For Rückert and the *Haft Qolzom* see A. Schimmel, *A Two Colored Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 5-6.

² Browne, *op. cit.*, 25.

When, however, Browne proceeds to discuss the particular forms subsumed under these general headings, the *ghazal*, which he calls "ode," begins to emerge as a separate genre, differentiated from the *qaṣīdeh*, or "elegy," by subject, length, and at least one formal feature:

...the former is generally erotic and mystical, and seldom exceeds ten or a dozen *bayts* [to be thought of as "stichoi" in his explanation]; the latter may be a panegyric or a satire, or it may be didactic, philosophical or religious. In later days (but not, I think, before the Mongol Invasion) it became customary for the poet to introduce his *takhalluṣ*, *nom de guerre*, or "pen-name," in the last *bayt*, or *maqṭa'* of the *ghazal*, which is not done in the *qaṣīda*.³

This is an accurate definition, so far as it goes, of the formal features of the *ghazal* from the 13th century A.D. forward, though his dating of the introduction of the *taxalluṣ* is at least a century belated and he apparently excludes the possibility of panegyric *ghazals*.⁴ These quibbles aside, a more fundamental problem arises from his classifications: Browne blurs the distinction between form and content or mood, such as when he identifies the *robā'i* as a native Persian

³ *ibid.*, 27.

⁴ Qāsem Ġani, *Tārix-e 'aṣr-e Hāfez* (Tehran: 1321/1942), was the first to point out the panegyric intent of many of the *ghazals* of Hāfez, a point insisted upon shortly thereafter by Roger Lescot, "Essai d'une chronologie de l'œuvre de Hafiz," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas) 10 (1944): 57-100. Oddly, this now rather self-evident fact had previously gone unremarked; one can only surmise that the opposition posited by medieval Persian rhetoric between *madh* and *ghazal* (see below) must have predisposed critics to conceive of these categories as mutually exclusive.

verse form, denies an independent status to the *qeṭ'eh*,⁵ and claims that the ghazal is a "form" (as opposed to a mood or theme) borrowed from the Arabs and later modified.⁶

A. Bausani proposes a somewhat more nuanced schemata for classification, distinguishing the motifs (*i motivi*), forms (*le forme*) and genres (*i generi letterari*) of Persian poetry. Bausani posits four genres: 1) lyrical-panegyric poetry, consisting of the *qaṣīdeh* and *ghazal* (the one differentiated from the other by length and subject matter); 2) the *robā'i*; 3) the *magnavi*, whether on epic, romantic, mystical or

⁵ Browne, op. cit., 23, where he describes the *qeṭ'eh* in the same breath with the *bayt* (stich), which is more properly a prosodic unit than a poetic form or genre, and with the *fard*, which usually refers, in the context of a prose work interspersed with verse, to a poem of a single line composed specifically for that setting. The *qeṭ'eh* is generally associated with occasional poems, though less frequently with the formal ceremonial occasions commemorated in the *qaṣīdeh*. It is also distinguished formally, either by virtue of the fact that it is less than twenty lines, considered the minimum length for the *qaṣīdeh*, or because it lacks the *maṭla'* (i.e., the opening hemistich does not rhyme with the rest of the *bayts*. Browne seems determined, despite the contrary evidence he compiles, to understand the *qeṭ'eh* as "merely a piece of a *qaṣīda*, though it may be that no more of the *qaṣīda* was ever written, and, indeed, the productions of some few poets, notably Ibn Yamīn (died A.D. 1344-5), consist entirely of such 'fragments.'" It has also been denied that the Arabic *qīṭ'ah* is independent in status, though the early critics, such as Ibn Qutayba, and al-Jāhiz (who called it *al-qaṣīdah al-qaṣīrah*), recognized it as a separate form. See A. Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry*, v. 1, (Reading: Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, 1992), 6.

⁶ Browne, op. cit., 18. The distinction between *ghazal* and *tagazzol* is discussed below.

didactic themes; and 4) prose.⁷ Elsewhere, he includes the *geṭ'eh* as a further genre and speaks of the strophic poems (*tarji'-band*, *tarkib-band*, *morabba'*, etc.) as forms.⁸

These categories also prove somewhat fuzzy, mixing as they do prosodic and thematic considerations. The *robā'i*, for example, is a metrical form, which though prominently associated with the mood and topoi of Khayyamesque epicureanism, is often used as a vehicle for other thematics, including encomium, elegy, and the epigram. Likewise, the *magnavi* is a prosodic form, but the epic "genre" (as typified by Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāmeḥ*) cannot meaningfully be grouped on thematic grounds with, for example, the mystical *Magnavi-ye ma'navi* of Rumi or the romances of Nezāmi.

This imprecision may account for Bausani's conclusion that the concept of genre applies only up to a certain point for Persian literature,⁹ and calls our attention to the problems with genre theory that have been enunciated by modern literary critics. E. Curtius points out that the classical concept of genre was based on an amalgam of prevailing moods

⁷ A. Bausani, *La letteratura Persiana* (Milan: Sansoni Accademia, 1968), 181. Bausani's student, G. Scarcia, follows his teacher's discussion of forms and genres (275-77) in "Letteratura Persiana," in *Storia delle letterature d'oriente*, ed. Oscar Botto, v. 2, (Milan: Casa Editrice Dr. Francesco Vallardi, 1969), 243-373.

⁸ Bausani, *Le letterature del Pakistan e dell'Afghanistan* (Milan: Sansoni: Accademia, 1968), 39-40. Here he does not appear to be using the terminology of type (*tipo*), forms (*forme*) and genres (*genere*) with as much conscious rigor.

⁹ Bausani, *La letteratura persiana*, 179.

(epic, comedy, tragedy) as well as principles of versification (iambus, elegy, etc.),¹⁰ all of them categories inherited from the Greeks. Divorced from their native milieu, however, the meaning of such terms began to wander, as the Arab mis-translation of Aristotle's "comedy" and "tragedy" as *hijā* and *madīh* nicely illustrates.¹¹ Indeed, the etymological significance of some Greek genre terms, stemming as much from the performance milieu as from the meter employed or the poetic mood, was already lost by late antiquity: lyric is originally poetry accompanied by music, either choral (for religious ceremonies and later drama, such as is found in Alcman, Bacchylides, Pindar, Stesichorus, etc.) or monodonic (usually performed after a banquet or symposium, such as is found in the poetry of Alcaeus, Anacreon, Sappho); comedy is named for the *kōmos*, a procession of singing and dancing revellers; and tragedy is a "goat song," either because of the skins worn by the players, or by association with a ritual sacrifice or the prize of a goat.¹²

¹⁰ E. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, tr. Willard Trask, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 248.

¹¹ For a discussion of this infelicity, see Wolfgang Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und Griechische Poetik* (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1969), 108ff.

¹² See under the relevant topic headings in *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, ed. M. Howatson, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Around 1500, when the *Poetics* was rediscovered in Europe, the existing genres did not correspond well to the conceptual categories established by Aristotle; with the rise of the novel, generic classification appeared to be baseless to Schlegel, a point elaborated by Croce and argued forcefully today by Frederic Jameson. Hegel, however, reduced and refined the classical genres to three--lyric, epic and drama--categories which remain with us today,¹³ particularly in the modifications given by Claudio Guillén, who sees these three as universal modes of experience, in contradistinction to genres proper, such as the sonnet or the tragedy.¹⁴ F. Cairns, while recognizing that "genre" is used as a formal classification, applies the term to a meticulous adumbration of the topical or content-based conventions of Greek and Roman

¹³ Hegel's categories are widely assumed and have been borrowed by scholars to characterize non-European poetics as well, e.g., D. Şafā, *Hamāseh-sarā'i dar Irān*, 4th ed., (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1363), 2-4. Karl Viëtor has pointed out the confusion that arises from applying "genre" to both essential categories or modes (i.e., epic, drama, lyric) and to historical kinds (e.g., tragedy and comedy). See the discussion in R. Wellek and A. Warren, *Theory of Literature*, 3rd ed., (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1956), 227.

¹⁴ For an excellent précis and bibliography on the historical debate over genres, see s.v. "Genre," in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetics*, ed. A. Preminger and T. Brogan, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 456-9. I have also profited from R. Cohen, "Genre Theory, Literary History and Historical Change," in *Theoretical Issues in Literary History*, ed. D. Perkins, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 85-113, and from D. Lindley, *Lyric* (London: Methuen, 1985), chapter 1, "Categories and Definitions."

literature.¹⁵ Indeed, French and German critics tended to speak of genres either in terms of the triad of lyric/epic/dramatic modes or as thematic categories, in contradistinction to "fixed forms,"¹⁶ which are determined by stanza, form and meter. Wellek and Warren prefer to conceive of genre in terms of a combination of both the prosodic outer form and the inner form or "attitude, tone, purpose -- more crudely, subject and audience" of a poem.¹⁷ Genres, or "literary kinds," are then, "institutions," or "aesthetic conventions" which shape the character of a literary work.¹⁸ Northrop Frye argues in favor of a generic quadrivium of drama, epic, lyric, and "fiction" (meaning prose, or more precisely, "the genre of the printed page"), which are defined in terms of "the radical of presentation," or the rhetorical relationship obtaining between poet/author and audience:

¹⁵ F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972), 6. J. Meisami briefly suggests Cairns' approach as a solution to the problem of "disunity" in the Persian ghazal; see her "Norms and Conventions of the Classical Persian Lyric: A Comparative Approach to the Ghazal," in *Classical Models in Literature* (Proceedings of the IXth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association), ed. Z. Konstantinovic, (Innsbruck: AMCE, 1981), 208.

¹⁶ The "ghazal" and "haiku" are defined as a "fixed forms" in *The Longman Dictionary of Poetic Terms*, ed. J. Myers and M. Simms, (New York: Longman, 1989), s.v. "ghazal" and "fixed forms."

¹⁷ Wellek and Warren, *Theory of Literature*, op.cit., 231.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 226. The metaphor of genres as "institutional imperatives which both coerce and are in turn coerced by the writer" derives from N. H. Pearson.

Words may be acted in front of a spectator; they may be spoken in front of a listener; they may be sung or chanted; or they may be written for a reader....The basis of generic criticism in any case is rhetorical, in the sense that the genre is determined by the conditions established between the poet and his public.¹⁹

We can, with Croce, reject the essentialist notion of *a priori* and universal categories, and yet retain the concept of genres as historically-determined and evolving conceptual literary frameworks. H. R. Jauss postulates genre as a fluid "horizon of expectation" (*Erwartungsrichtung*) or as "rules of the game" (*Zusammenhang von Spielregeln*) orienting the understanding of the reader or public, and enabling or enhancing the reception of the work:

...the relationship between the individual text and the series of texts formative of a genre presents itself as a process of the continual founding and altering of horizons. The new text evokes for the reader (listener) the horizon of expectations and "rules of the game" familiar to him from earlier texts, which as such can then be varied, extended, corrected, but also transformed, crossed out, or simply reproduced. Variation, extension, and correction determine the latitude of a generic structure; a break with the convention on the one hand and mere reproduction on the other determines its boundaries.²⁰

Genres are not, of course, hermetic or pure categories, and there is considerable bleeding, or intertextuality between

¹⁹ N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 246-7.

²⁰ H. R. Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, Timothy Bahti, trans., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 79, 88. Cf., E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 82-3, who was already speaking of genre in terms of "an anticipated sense of the whole" and "a system of expectations" prior to Jauss.

them, both in terms of form and content.²¹ Nevertheless, whether viewed in terms of Frye's rhetorical orientations, or in more formal and prosodic terms, as in the sonnet, genre remains a useful concept, not so much to classify as to clarify shared "traditions and affinities" that might otherwise go unremarked.²² Insofar as a tradition--authors, auditors, readers, and critics--clearly identifies or imagines certain genres or types in its own literary corpus, as is certainly the case for the Persian ghazal, approaching these genres as historical constructs ought to prove critically productive.

²¹ Naturally, authors utilize genre expectations to both fulfill and to disappoint audience/reader expectations, and they combine elements of various genres, often thereby producing new genres. See, for example, the discussion of the "mixed-genre lieder" of Schubert, whose "fusion of genres", including elements of dramatic (almost operatic) scenes, dramatic ballads, and traditional strophic *Volkslieder* themes (*Frühlingslied*, *Ständchen*, *Wiegenlied*), represents his "most important legacy to nineteenth-century song composition"; Marjorie Hirsch, *Schubert's Dramatic Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 137.

²² Frye, op. cit., 247-8. Contrast the skeptical view of D. Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 73, 81, who tends to see the hermeneutic circularity of analysis by genres or other literary taxonomies as self-fulfilling prophesies. Gunther Müller already in a 1928 article, "Bemerkungen zur Gattungspoetik" in *Philosophischer Anzeiger* 3:136, noted that "The dilemma of all genre history is that we apparently cannot decide what belongs to a genre without knowing what is *gattungshaft*, and we cannot know what is *gattungshaft* with knowing that this or that belongs to a genre." Hirsch approvingly quotes this observation and while rejecting essentialist, *a priori* genre concepts, argues on behalf of historical and culture-bound studies of genres; see *Validity in Interpretation*, 107ff.

Bausani does treat the historical and stylistic evolution of the "genres" he identifies, but nevertheless tends to reify the categories, as, for example, when he claims that the concept of genre applies only up to a point for Persian literature and that the genres of Persian poetry are born, "Minerva-like," almost perfectly formed, showing little development over nine hundred years, such that a ghazal of Daqiqi (d. c. 366/976) is difficult, for the European eye, to distinguish from a ghazal of Qā'āni (d. 1270/1853).²³

Scholars generally speak of the ghazal and other Persian prosodic conventions in approximately similar terms to the "forms" and "genres" of Browne and Bausani.²⁴ Heshmat

²³ Bausani, *Letteratura Persiana*, 179-80. As we shall see below, though the 13th/19th century Persian ghazal preserves much of the topoi or iconology of 4th/10th century amatory poetry, the ghazal shows considerable formal, semantic and philosophical development, as one might naturally expect, over a millennium.

²⁴ The lengthiest and most intricate discussion of genre in Persian is Z. 'A. Mo'taman, *Tahavvol-e še'r-e fārsi* (n.p.: Ketābforuši-ye Hāfez va Ketābforuši-ye Moštāfavi, 1339/1960), 7ff, 52ff, 63ff, 70ff, speaks of the *aqsām* (categories) and *qavāleḥ* (forms), by which he intends primarily the fixed forms (i.e., *qaṣīdeḥ*, *ghazal*, *tarji'āt*, *qeṭ'eh*, *robā'i*, *magnavi*), and views the ghazal primarily as a lyric mode on the love theme, and only secondarily as a fixed form. Mo'taman's earlier study on this subject, *Še'r va adab-e fārsi* (Tehran: Ebn-e Sinā va Bongāh-e Maṭbu'āti-ye Afšāri, 1332/1953) is also quite useful. Compare this with M.T. Bahār, *Še'r dar Irān* (Tehran: Ketābxāneh-ye Gutenberg, 1333/1950), 73-77. In western languages, see A. Mirzoev, *Rudaki i razvitiye gazeli* (Stalinabad: Tadzhikgosizdat, 1958), 7, 40, 42, who speaks of genres, forms and generic forms, ["zhanrovai formi gazeli," and "zhanrova (rodov) klassicheskoi persidsko-Tadzhikskoi poezii"]. M. Aryanpur, *A History of Persian Literature* (Tehran: Kayhan Press, 1973), 61-3, calls the ghazal and other forms "metric and stanzaic conventions." L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Meters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Mo'ayyad, however, insightfully abandons the schemata whereby the *qaṣīdeh* and ghazal are grouped together as forms of lyrical poetry, describing Persian lyrical poetry as a genre that can be found in any number of different prosodic forms (*qeṭ'eh*, *robā'i*, and *tağazzol*, or the amatory introit of certain *qaṣīdehs*), but which came to be identified pre-eminently with the ghazal.²⁵ The identification of the ghazal as the premier lyric genre in Persian, highlights its rhetorical stance as primarily an utterance overheard, an I-thou dialogue, in which, as Frye puts it, the poet's back is metaphorically turned on the audience.²⁶ The *qaṣīdeh*, then, though it shares a "cycle of themes"²⁷ with the ghazal, is perhaps better thought of as an epic genre, one in which, in Frye's "presentation," the poet faces his audience, declaiming an "extended oratorical form" in a direct address or at least

1976), 243-60, observing Browne's three categories, describes them as "verse forms." E. Yarshater, "The Development of Iranian Literatures," refers to poetic "genres" (20) and J. Clinton, "Court Poetry at the Beginning," to "forms" (88), both in *Persian Literature*, ed. E. Yarshater, (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1988). J. Meisami quite pointedly calls the ghazal a "poetic genre" in *Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 236, 239. A. Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 22, speaks of "meter and genres" in the chapter title, but in the text refers to the ghazal as a "form."

²⁵ H. Mo'ayyad, "Lyric Poetry," in *Persian Literature*, ed. E. Yarshater, 121.

²⁶ N. Frye, op. cit., 249-50.

²⁷ *ibid.*, 293, for the idea of the thematic cycle. Frye describes panegyric as a form of epos, which, however, combines characteristics of lyric (294-5).

a "mimesis of direct address."²⁸ Indeed, one of the three approaches to the problem of unity of form and content in the classical Arabic *qaṣīdah* proposed by Jaroslav Stetkevych consists of viewing the poem as an "epideictic structure" such as the oration, missive or epistle.²⁹

The classical Persian ghazal as a prosodic form is more closely associated with specific topoi and motifs and with a certain rhetoric of presentation than any other Persian form, and therefore has a more sharply delimited horizon of expectations than perhaps any other Persian poetic convention. Whether, therefore, we classify the ghazal as primarily a rhetorical (lyric), a thematic (amatory), a prosodic ("fixed form"), or as I will suggest later, a performance convention, it does not require an over-elastic imagination to view the 7th/13th century ghazal as a lyrical genre *sui generis*, analogous to the *carmina*, *canzo* or sonnet, in contradistinction to other genres.³⁰ The genre concept will,

²⁸ *ibid.*, 250, 251.

²⁹ J. Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd: The Poetics of Nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasīb* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 6-16. His two other approaches are an analogy to the sonata structure in classical western music (16-25) and the rite of passage as described by A. van Gennep and Victor Turner (26-49).

³⁰ These various other genres need not be precisely defined for our purposes, but might include: narrative poetry, including the genres of the *magnavi* romance and heroic epic; didactic poetry, including polemical or catechismal orientations to religious, philosophical and mystical themes, appearing in any prosodic form; orational poetry, including panegyre, anthems, celebratory odes, occasional poems, or satire and invective, occurring primarily in the *qaṣīdeh* and

however, only prove useful insofar as we avoid an ahistorical reification of the ghazal qua genre. Toward that end, I shall attempt to reconstruct the historical development of the ghazal as prosodic structure (see below under the rubric "Misshapen Chaos of Well-seeming Forms") and emphasize its performance context (below under "All the Text's a Stage"). It will furthermore be useful to isolate the sub-genres, moods and iconology which in various juxtapositions and manipulations make the ghazal genre possible, (as will be attempted in Chapter Five) by foregrounding the dominant poetic moods, i.e., whether the poetic persona's attitude and emotion in a given ghazal is amatory (as in the urban Arabic ghazal tradition, where love is enjoyed), elegiac (as in the *'udrī ghazal*, where love is experienced as loss or unfulfillable desire), panegyric, ludic, homiletic, etc.; and

geṭ'eh. In the past ten years, a number of Iranian scholars have begun writing histories of the genres or fixed forms of Persian poetry, e.g., Sirus Šamisā, *Sayr-e ghazal dar še'r-e fārsi* (Tehran: Cāpxāneh-ye Kāviān, 1362/1983) and also his *Sayr-e robā'i dar še'r-e fārsi* (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Āštiāni, 1363/1984); Vali Allāh Zafari, *Habsieh dar adab-e fārsi* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1364/1985); G. A'zami-rād, *Mosammaṭ dar she'r-e fārsi* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1366/1987); N. Emāmi, *Marsieh-sarā'i dar adabiāt-e fārsi-ye Irān* (Ahvāz: Baxš-e Farhangi-ye Jahād-e Dānešgāhi-ye Ahvāz, 1369/1990). Note also the important earlier approaches to genre studies, viz., D. Šafā, *Hamāseh-sarā'i dar Irān* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1321/1942) and A. Golcin-e Ma'āni, *Šahrāshub dar še'r-e fārsi* (Tehran, 1346/1967). A few western studies have also treated genre development, such as Shams Anwari-alhosseyni, *Logaz und Mo'amma: eine Quellenstudie zur Kunstform des persischen Ratsels* (Berlin: K. Schwartz, 1986) and Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, *Moralia: les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3e/9e au 7e/13e siècle* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1986).

by examining the themes, topoi, or semiotic fields, associated with the various moods, such as the iconic beloved (*negār, jānān, bot, şanam, ma'suq*), the wine symposium (*xamrieh*), the garden of pleasure (*bahārieh*), gnostic asceticism (*rohdieh*), mystical antinomianism (*qalandariet*), etc.

**"Misshapen Chaos of Well-Seeming Forms":
The Problem of Organic Unity**

I have belabored the genre question because it is a crucial premise in any argument about how meaning inheres in the ghazal. After Browne describes the features of the ghazal (quoted above), he then proceeds to translate, by way of a paradigmatic example, *Hāfez*' famous ghazal about the "Shirazi Turk." Sir William "Oriental" Jones had translated this poem more than a century earlier, coining the phrase "Orient pearls at random strung," an interpolation which, though lacking in the original Persian, both gave impetus to and succinctly describes the feature of the Persian ghazal (or the Arabic *qaṣīdah*, for that matter) that has most bothered and perplexed western readers: its opaque and elusive structure. *Hāfez* himself has been made to represent the Persian ghazal tradition as a whole in a half-century of debate about its (dis)unity, an argument which, in tandem with the inaccuracy of textual transmission in the Persian manuscript tradition (especially in connection with the poetry of Ferdowsi, Omar Khayyām and *Hāfez*; see Chapter Three) and the dearth of biographical information on authors, has provided the premier

problematic in the study of Persian literature, and in the Ottoman and Urdu ghazal as well.

The ink spilled by scholars over exactly how or what meaning inheres in a (or in "the") ghazal, has tended as much to blot as to draw clear distinctions and fine arguments. The inevitable but misleading model of the European sonnet, with the narrative and structural expectations of its Petrarchan and Elizabethan varieties (whether the connection is made explicit or not)³¹ has been one source of confusion. Also misleading is the tendency to think of the individual line (*bayt*) of an Arab or Persian poem, whether situated in a ghazal, a *qaṣīdeh* or some other form, as an "atomistic" boundary of meaning, owing in part to the preponderance of end-stopped lines, especially in poems with a *radif*, or refrain, at the end of each line.³² The medieval tradition of Arabo-Persian literary criticism favored quotation and discussion of independent lines without much regard for their context or their structural relationship to the rest of the

³¹ The comparison is made explicit in M. Hillman, "Unity in the Ghazals of Hāfez," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974) 152-3, and in Iraj Bashiri, "Hāfiz and the Sufic Ghazal," *Studies in Islam* 16:1 (Jan 1979), 35.

³² J. Meisami's assertion in "Persona and generic conventions in medieval Persian lyric," *Comparative Criticism* 12 (1990), 125-151, that enjambment is "prohibited" in the ghazal (125-6) is formulated somewhat too emphatically. Though it is certainly the norm for a line to be a syntactic boundary, there are occasional incidences of enjambment in Hāfez and in both the ghazals and *qaṣīdehs* of other poets, though a statistical survey would doubtless prove that run-on lines are far more common in the *magnavi* form.

poem from which extracted, a praxis which only further encouraged the critic to view the poetry atomistically.³³ Indeed, Ibn Xaldūn, who is in some respects closer to our modern sensibility than most other medieval theorists, even though he suggests that a given poem (*qaṣīdah wa kalīmah*) has some kind of unified internal structure, nevertheless insists repeatedly that poetry is a mode of discourse divided into rhyming verses (*bayt*, pl. *abyāt*), which are independent, self-contained units.³⁴

The idea that the individual verses are independent units of meaning points one towards the conclusion that the order in which they appear in the poem is not crucial.³⁵ In making

³³ A.S. Tritton in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed., s.v. "Shi'r" was the first, perhaps, to describe Arabic poetry as "atomistic." In 1933 T. Kowalski characterized Arabic poetry by its "molecularity." For the history of western thinking on the (in)coherence and (dis)unity of the Arabic and Persian poetry, see G. van Gelder, *Beyond the Line: Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982), 14-22; R. Scheindlin, *Form and Structure in the Poetry of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 1-15; and S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry: A structural analysis of selected texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-13.

³⁴ *al-Muqaddimah*, ed. 'Abd al-Wāhid, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1960-65), 1289. Van Gelder, *Beyond the Line*, 190-3, characterizes describes Ibn Xaldūn's concept of the poem as "in some ways not merely conservative but reactionary," but the notion of the *bayt* as an independent unit of meaning is not unique to Ibn Xaldūn, who, in any case, also views the poem as whole as a coherent unit.

³⁵ Even Arberry, a scholar and translator of exceptional ability, who obviously greatly appreciated the beauty of Persian and Arabic poetry and argued that some kind of unity inhered in individual poems, frequently allowed himself to omit lines here and there and even leave out entire sections from poems he translated.

sense of the manuscript tradition of Hāfez, which records an astonishing multiplicity of possible orderings of the lines in various ghazals, the supposed "molecularity" of Persian verse might suggest itself as a very convenient resolution of aporias. Nineteenth century scholarship was much preoccupied with establishing critical editions of texts, and consequently imbued with a Lachmannian ethos, where poems are perceived as written works produced by an author in an archetypal (if not entirely hypothetical) autograph manuscript, almost always lost to us. Over the centuries, copies of this ideal *Urtext* are made by scribes, presumably possessed of our modern notion of author and "book,"³⁶ who, though more or less concerned to identify and save for posterity the opus of a given author, nevertheless introduce errors and interpolations through their carelessness and/or misplaced enthusiasm. Hence, European scholarship of the previous century was primarily concerned to weed out scribal emendations and correct errors, usually on the assumption that the *lectio difficilior* is correct, and

³⁶ The status as miscellany or florilegium or perhaps classroom readers of many surviving medieval manuscripts of Persian poetry can be deduced from the inclusion of different authors and parts of their work in a single manuscript or "book" that must have been used by an individual reader at some point in history, perhaps as a study text, a *vade mecum*, or as personal compendium (my "best loved poems"). For a similar phenomenon in medieval Europe, see the discussion of monastic florilegia in M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 177ff. The divergent aims of the modern philological scholar and the original collator of any given manuscript ought to be kept in mind when thinking of the categories book, work, and author and in endeavoring to establish critical texts.

then, having established a text, to translate it, explicate it, and finally, to cull a critical biography of the author and explain the supposed circumstances of composition of the work at hand on the basis of the anecdotal and often legendary medieval *tadkereh* literature (similar to the *vida* of the troubadour and trouvère poets).

This textual-critical approach is, in itself, quite useful, but was not infrequently attended by an attitude of mental or logical superiority to the author whose literature was under investigation, such that, if the critic did not himself appreciate a given poem, it might be assumed that the reputation for beauty it enjoyed (either within the tradition itself or among the European Romantic poets who had translated versions of it) was either not fully deserved or must be viewed through the lens of a deficient "oriental" concept of what poetry is.³⁷ Obviously, to the extent that such an attitude prevailed, it did not encourage scholars to reflect

³⁷ Goethe's poems composed on Persian models, and the translations of Rückert, von Hammer-Purgstall, Fitzgerald and others who popularized Persian poetry were, naturally, imbued with the prevailing Romantic or neo-Romantic ethos of their day. Such translations gained wide currency and permeated music (especially the German *lieder*) and the visual arts (e.g., from a later period, Matisse's "Odalisque", and the popular cinema's depiction of the middle east), creating an exotic aesthetic of the "oriental" in popular western culture that has long informed westerners' aesthetic preconceptions about Persian poetry. The *weltanschauung* inherited from the early orientalists had given way by World War II, but popular culture continues to feed on the older exotic conceptions, especially as transmitted through Hollywood. See J. Stetkevych, "Arabic Poetry and Assorted Poetics," *op. cit.*, and also his "Arabism and Arabic Literature. Self-view of a Profession," *JNES* 28, 3 (1969): 145-56.

on the double medieval and mideastern "alterity"³⁸ of such poems and to acculturate themselves to the alien yet equally valid poetics that might underlie them. Expecting poetry to conform to a certain familiar logic or aesthetic, the "Orientalist" often found himself in a jungle of overgrown and disparate words, lines, themes and images, lacking a map of the poetic terrain, searching for some unific vantage to make sense of the molecular morass. The peculiar picture which sometimes emerged in the earlier European refractions of classical Arabic and Persian poetry is not to be attributed primarily to an "Orientalist" will to trivialize by conceptual conquest,³⁹ but largely to the inadequate or unreflective conceptual framework brought to bear upon the understanding of such poetry. Even careful and sympathetic western critics

³⁸ Alterity (*alterität*) as a term describing the "otherness" from our world of the departed past and the ability to recover in medieval literature glimpses of that conceptual other world was proposed by H. R. Jauss in *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Munich, 1977) and in an English article, "The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature," *New Literary History*, 10 (1979): 385-90.

³⁹ This is the argument of Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), esp. 123: "To reconstruct a dead or lost Oriental language meant ultimately to reconstruct a dead or neglected Orient; it also meant that reconstructive precision, science, even imagination could prepare the way for what armies, administrations, and bureaucracies would later do on the ground, in the Orient." In his account of the Orientalists' will to knowledge, Said fails to consider the often important spiritual motivator of Jewish or Christian belief and the desire to better understand (or sometimes to disprove) Biblical religion. He also seems to assume a monolithic orientalist project, with nary a voice of resistance to the agenda of, as it were, *disciplina et imperium*.

have, in the face of an inability to account for the poetics of Arabic and Persian literature, postulated a cultural and psychological predisposition to digression and desultoriness, or even a shorter audience attention span than in the west.⁴⁰ Many Iranians scholars have also accepted this premise: Xānlari repeats the view that the structure of the ghazal is atomistic and claims that the relationship between the various lines in a poem is subtle and almost imperceptible,⁴¹ though Farzād, like Šāmlu, assumes that there was at one point, before the transmission process scrambled it, a correct, logical order and relationship between one line to the next.⁴²

⁴⁰ E.g., von Grunebaum, "The Spirit of Islam as shown in its Literature," *Studia Islamica*, 1, 1 (1953): 104. Had Arabic and Persian poetry been popularized in translations with a prevailing aesthetic other than romanticism (imagism, symbolism or surrealism, let us say), the scholarly discourse about such poetry might have developed along very different lines. Westerners who come to Persian and Arabic poetry in the translations of James Bellamy and P. Steiner (*The Banners of the Champions: An Anthology of Medieval Arabic Poetry from Andalusia and Beyond* [Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1989]); Dick Davis [*The Conference of the Birds*, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1984) and *The Legend of Seyavash*, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1992)]; Omar Pound (*Arabic and Persian Poems* [New York: New Directions Books, 1970]); Michael Sells (*Desert Tracings* [Wesleyan University Press, 1989]); and Peter L. Wilson and Nasrollah Pourjavady (*The Drunken Universe* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Phanes Press, 1987]); will doubtless have a very different preconception about what such poetry is and should be like, and will likely uncover different aesthetic cruxes.

⁴¹ *Divān-e Hāfez*, Xvājeh Šams al-Din Moḥammad, ed. P. N. Xānlāri, 2nd ed., (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Xvārazmi, 1362/1983), 2:1118.

⁴² See J. Matini, "Divān-e Hāfez mirās-e gerān-qadr-e farhangi-ye mā." *Irān Nāmeḥ* 6, 4 (Summer 1367/1988), 604.

In the 1940s western scholarship began to reach a consensus that there must be such an alternative aesthetic that could explain the power and pleasure of this poetry. The neo-Romantic sensibilities of translators like Arberry, Browne and Nicholson gave way in the 1960s and 1970s to critical approaches deriving from either New Criticism or the linguistic models of Saussure, Prague, and the Russian formalists. Such methodologies continued to see individual poems as self-contained texts, but began to gaze upon them through the lens of newer theoretical methodologies, particularly structuralism.⁴³ Unfortunately, such metho(i)d(e)ologies often expected poems to conform to a pre-conceived aesthetic (now of binary structure, sound patterning, logical development and closure) as much as, if not more than, the 19th century philological methods had, and

⁴³ A partial list would include, M. C. Bateson, *Structural Continuity in Poetry: a Linguistic Study of Five Pre-Islamic Arabic Odes* (The Hague, 1970); R. Scheindlin, *Form and Structure*, op. cit.; M. Hillman, *Unity in the Ghazals of Hāfiz* (Minneapolis and Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976); K. Abu Deeb, "Towards a Structural Analysis of Pre-Islamic Poetry" *IJMES* 6 (1975):148-84 (part I) and *Edebiyāt* 1 (1976):3-69 (part II); and "Studies in Arabic Literary Criticism: the Concept of Organic Unity," *Edebiyāt* 2 (1977):57-89. In Europe the application of structuralist analyses to Arabic and Persian poetry persists though it now no longer fashionable in the U.S. See S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, op. cit., and R. Zipoli, *Encoding and Decoding Neopersian Poetry* (Rome: Cultural Institute of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Italy, 1988). V. Propp's formalist methods, derived from the search for an explanation of the multi-form nature of Russian folktales, have also been applied to pre-Islamic poetry; see Adnan Haydar, "The Mu'allāqa of Imru' al-Qays: Its Structure and Meaning," *Edebiyāt* 2 (1977):227-61 (part I) and *Edebiyāt* 3 (1978):51-82 (part II).

were consequently not wholly successful in accounting for and explaining the architectonics of either the Arabic *qaṣīdah* or the Persian ghazal.⁴⁴ At the same time, the traditional philological and text-critical methodologies had begun to evolve into a more textured hermeneutic approach, which attempted to recover as much socio-historical context for the poems as possible⁴⁵ and to describe the aesthetic, now

⁴⁴ Indeed, the structuralist interpreters of *Hāfez* often suggested the necessity of chiseling away certain lines from the received text in order to discover the unified form within, e.g., I. Bashiri, "Hāfiz' Shīrāzī Turk: A Structuralist's Point of View," *The Muslim World* 69:3 (Oct 1979), 186; and R. Rehder, "The Unity of the ghazals of Hāfiz," *Der Islam* 51:1 (1974), 67-9. Critiques of the self-styled structuralist approaches include, J.C. Bürgel, "Der Schöne Türke, immer noch mißverstanden," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 75:2 (1980):105-111; S. Stetkevych, "Structuralist Interpretations of Pre-Islamic Poetry: Critique and New Directions," *JNES* 42:2 (1983):85-107; F. Pritchett, "Orient Pearls Unstrung: The Quest for Unity in the Ghazal" *Edebiyāt* (New Series) 4:1 (1993):119-135.

⁴⁵ Thick description of the cultural milieu was essayed as an historical and hermeneutic approach to understanding a given poet's oeuvre absent detailed and reliable biographical information, by a number of Iranian scholars of Persian literature, including Sa'id Nafisi, *Mohiṭ-e zendegi va ahvāl va aš'ār-e Rudakī*, [originally 3 volumes, 1309-1319/1931-40], 2nd ed., (Tehran: Ebn-Sinā, 1341/1962), who was perhaps influenced by the spectacular work of Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallāj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., (Paris: Geuthner, 1922), or perhaps by the first volume of Browne's *Literary History of Persia*. Nafisi was followed in this approach by Xalil Allāh Xalili, *Ahvāl va āsār-e Hakim Sanā'i* (Kabul, 1315/1936); Badi' al-Zamān Foruzānfar, *Resāleh dar taḥqiq-e ahvāl va zendegi-ye Jalāl al-Din Moḥammad mašhur be-Mowlavi*, 2nd ed., (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Zavvār, 1333/1954) and 'Abd al-Hosayn Zarrin-kub, *Az kučeh-ye rendān: darbāreh-ye zendegi va andiše-ye Hāfez* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1349/1970).

recognized as different, which informed them.⁴⁶ The effort to uncover the aesthetic principles animating the poetic corpus naturally turned to the numerous works on rhetoric, style and poetics by the medieval Arab and Persian critics themselves to obtain a self-view of the tradition.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, with the possible exception of al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), the medieval Arab critics seem primarily concerned, if not obsessed, with questions of philology, rhetoric and imagery, and lack an interest or at least a nuanced understanding of the structure or the thematics of the poems they discuss.⁴⁸ This state of affairs is mirrored in

⁴⁶ Examples of scholars striving to account for the different stylistics or aesthetics of western and Persian poetry include Alessandro Bausani, "The Development of Form in Persian Lyrics: A Way to a Better Understanding of the Structure of Western Poetry," *East and West*, 9:3 (Sept. 1958):145-53; Henri Broms, "How does the Middle Eastern literary taste differ from the European?," *Studia Orientalia* 44 (1972):1-94; and von Grunebaum, "Arabic Literary Criticism in the 10th century A.D." *JAOS* 61 (1941): 51-57; "Arabic and Persian Literature: Problems of Aesthetic Analysis," in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: la Persia nel medioevo* (Rome, 1971), 337-49 and his *Kritik und Dichtkunst: Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955).

⁴⁷ See especially van Gelder, *Beyond the Line*; W. Heinrichs, "Literary Theory: the Problem of Its Efficiency," in *Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development*, ed. G. von Grunebaum, (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 19-69; M. Ajami, *The Neckveins of Winter: The Controversy over Natural and Artificial Poetry in Medieval Arabic Literary Criticism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984); and more recently, S. Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the 'Abbāsīd Age* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991).

⁴⁸ See K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's Theory of Poetic Imagery* (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1979), who tends to exaggerate the modernity of al-Jurjānī's views, arguing, e.g., that al-Jurjānī emphasized the "existence of different

medieval Persian criticism, the conceptual parameters of which were largely borrowed from the Arab authorities, though the Persian critics seem motivated more by the pedagogical concern of indoctrinating would-be poets and chancery secretaries in the technical aspects of rhetoric, imagery, meter and poetic decorum than they are in debates over inimitability and the nature of imagery.⁴⁹

levels of meaning in literary expression" in a way that was not expressed in Europe before structuralism (32; surely the four-fold approach to scripture of Patristic exegesis is at least as complex as al-Jurjānī's statement of this problem?) or when he turns al-Jurjānī's basically syntactic (*lafz*) and semiotic (*ma'nā*) concerns in the "theory of construction" (*nazm*) into a theory of poetic forms à la Cleanth Brooks' *Well Wrought Urn* (54) and into the forerunner of the New Criticism (58). Van Gelder deflates Abu Deeb's enthusiastic claims that al-Jurjānī posited the Arabic poem as a structurally unified organic whole (*Beyond the Line*, 130f). Henri Broms, "How Does the Middle Eastern...", op. cit., 67-75, also sees an almost modernist sensibility in al-Jurjānī's approach.

⁴⁹ I am thinking specifically of the primer-like quality (what we might call a handbook or dictionary of literary terms) of al-Rāduyānī's *Tarjomān al-balāghah* (explicitly based on an Arabic work, *Maḥāsīn al-kalām*, by the Persian al-Marghīnānī), Vaṭvāṭ's *Ḥadiqat al-seḥr* and the more engaging Šams-e Qays Rāzī's *al-Mo'jam fi ma'āyir-e aš'ār al-'ajam*, who Clinton suggests may think of "poemic" unity in a way its predecessors did not. See J. Clinton, "Esthetics by Implication: What Metaphors of Craft Tell us about the 'Unity' of the Persian Qasida," *Edebiyāt* 4 #1 (1979): 73-96. The critical questions addressed by the Persian and Arab rhetoricians and poeticians are compared by B. Reinert, "Probleme der vormongolischen arabisch-persischen Poesiegemeinschaft," in *Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development*, ed. G. von Grunebaum, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 72-105, esp. 81-93. Van Gelder (*Beyond the Line*, 142-3) emphasizes the indebtedness of Persian critics to their Arab counterparts somewhat more than Reinert. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274) does, however, treat Persian prosody in a distinctively Iranian manner, possibly influenced directly by Greek or Sanskrit models (though his interest in phonetics and points of articulation may derive from Xalīl b. Aḥmad rather than directly from Pāṇini). In passing, Ṭūsī posits a

The *Divān* of Hāfez has been plumbed and plowed with various critical implements to deny or defend, to celebrate or condemn the unity of particular ghazals and of the archetypal ghazal. Foremost among the observations for and against Hāfez' ghazals stands the charge that they are "atomistic" in structure and lack narrative cohesion.⁵⁰ The claim of incoherence and oriental decadence was amplified by Persian and Indian scholars with reformist or modernist agendas, such as Šebli No'māni (d. 1914) who praises the mystical philosophy of the ghazal, but takes it to task for its atomism and lack of cohesion, its insincerity or irreality, and its depiction

utilitarian theory in which the purpose (*ğaraž*) of poetry is motivation (*taxyil*) of the addressee to do or not do a certain thing or to create an emotion in him like contentment (*režā*) or anger (*saxaṭ*), or simply a sense of pleasurable enjoyment (*laḍḍat keh maṭlub bāšad*). See his *Me'yār al-aš'ār* (*dar 'elm-e 'aruž va qavāfi*), ed. Moḥammad Fešāraki and Jamšid Mazāheri (Esfehān: Entešārāt-e Sohravardi, 1363/1983), 1.

⁵⁰ Arberry identifies Count Reviczki, who wrote to Jones in 1768 declaring "Ghazalam [agar ān tork-e širāzi] non verti Latino carmine ob versuum incohaerentiam," as probably the first to speak of Hāfez' incoherency and then traces the reception history of the ghazal in English literature in "Orient Pearls at Random Strung," *BSOAS* 11 (1943): 699-712. The negative evaluation of the ghazal was apparently not shared by the German Romantics, who took a fancy to the exotic Persian ghazal poets, primarily Hāfez. Such was the mid-nineteenth century German fashion for the ghazal that many mediocre translations were published, perhaps contributing to the later European view of the incoherency of such poems. See A. Schimmel, "The Emergence of the German Ghazal," in *Studies in the Urdu Ġazal and Prose Fiction*, ed. M. U. Memon, (Madison: South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1979), 168-74. Despite its "incoherence," the genre has provided much poetic inspiration in the west, as evidenced by the *gacelas* (and *casidas*) of García Lorca and John Hollander's "Ghazals," (*the Nation*, July 10, 1989, p. 68).

of a morally unworthy beloved and a self-degrading lover.⁵¹ The poet Moḥammad Eqbāl found Hāfez' verse beautiful but meaningless, and Aḥmad Kasravi thought that classical Persian poetry in general, and Hāfez in particular, had set a slothful and decadent mental and moral example for the Iranian people.⁵² Other analytical problems have been posed by the sometimes apparently incoherent shifting back and forth from a first to a third person speaker and the not necessarily corresponding shifts of second and third person addresses to the beloved.⁵³ The enormous textual variations found in the manuscripts of Hāfez remains, of course, a major crux.⁵⁴

Some readers of Hāfez have assumed the texts of the poems in this or that edition must reveal an "organic unity" if only

⁵¹ See his posthumous Urdu work *Še'r al-`ajam*, 5 vols., (Cawnpore, 1920-23), translated to Persian by F. Dā'i in 5 volumes in 1955. See the Persian translation, 5:53-64ff and also 2:67-77.

⁵² Eqbāl, *Asrār-e xodi* (Lahore, 1915) and Kasravi, *Hāfez ceh mi-guyad* (1322/1943). See the analysis of M. A. Jazayery, "Ahmad Kasravī and the Controversy over Persian Poetry," *IJMES* 4 (1973):190-203, and also A. Schimmel, "Hāfiz and his Critics," 26.

⁵³ J. Meisami, "Persona and generic conventions," op. cit., proposes persona criticism and its recognition of a variety of implied speakers as an approach to this problem.

⁵⁴ Among those who have worked towards a critical edition of the *Divān* of Hāfez are 'A. R. Xalxālī (1928), Q. Ġani and M. Qazvini, M. Farzād, N. Aḥmad, and most successfully, P. N. Xānlari (1980). For a summary of the textual problems, some of which have now been redressed by Xānlari's edition, see R. Rehder, "The Text of Hāfiz," *JAOS*, 94:2 (1974):145-56.

we find the right critical approach,⁵⁵ while others have celebrated the apparent disunity as unimportant or as a precursor of modernist or post-modernist poetry.⁵⁶ The Nobel-nominated poet, Aḥmad Šāmlu, has tried to reorganize the lines of some poems in the *Divān* along intuitive more than

⁵⁵ G. Wickens, "The Persian Conception of Artistic Unity in Poetry and its Implications in Other Fields" and "An Analysis of Primary and Secondary Significations in the Third Ghazal of Hāfiz," *BSOAS* 14 (1952): 239-43 and 627-38, postulated an extremely expansive semiotic field (greatly deflated by M. Boyce in her response, "A Novel interpretation of Hāfez, *BSOAS* 15 (1953): 279-88) finding links from one line to the next in the secondary and tertiary associations of some words. G. Windfuhr adopted a similar approach from a structuralist perspective in his "Struktur eines Robai," *ZDMG*, 118 (1968):75-8. For the Ottoman Turkish ghazal, we find a more comprehensive and statistical approach to the "thematic environment" or the various "voices" of the poem, with the effort to establish a word list, in W. Andrews, "A Critical-Interpretive Approach to the Ottoman Turkish Gazel," *IJMES* 4 (1973):97-111, and *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985). Structuralist binary oppositions are also given by Andrews and by Hillman, *Unity*, who however, is more oriented toward the New Critical approaches of sound patterning and thematic unity than to binarism. Rehder ("Unity of the Ghazals") speaks of the generic unity of the ghazal, the unity of its "thought and mood" and admits to a logical disunity or incoherence which is nevertheless somehow organized by emotion. This last quintessentially lyrical view, similar to the argument of Mo'taman, (*Tahavvol*, 82-3), greatly exaggerates the realistic motivations of the ghazal poet, who is assumed to break into song because he cannot contain his emotions with respect to the beloved.

⁵⁶ H. Broms, "Two Studies in the Relations of Hāfiz and the West," *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki) 39 (1968), 18 and 20-2, where he compares Hāfez to the French Symbolist poets Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Mallarmé and Valéry. He also sees parallels with the English Metaphysical poets and with T.S. Eliot's modernism. 90-1, 104-5. Elsewhere he reifies the entire century 1860-1960 as the era of "the modernist movement" in Europe and attributes to it "continuity achieved by means of psychological association" and a "collage technique," to which he likens the aesthetic of Hāfez in his "How does the Middle Eastern Taste....," 77.

text-critical criteria to satisfy a modern narrative expectation.⁵⁷ One article has suggested, in what I take to be a deconstructionist reading, that there is no *hors de texte* and that the ghazals of Sa'di and Hāfez are "auto-thematic and self-referent," reflecting a "mirror principle" in which the meaning of each poem is actually, like an elaborate riddle, about itself, the author and the audience/reader, who is chided for not paying the poem sufficient attention.⁵⁸ The mystagogical tradition of reading Hāfez, wherein each symbol has a mystical analogue, seems untenable from the historical point of view, as the poet was not a Sufi, even though he was certainly influenced by mystical philosophy. In any case, this allegorical approach does not make the poems any clearer,

⁵⁷ See Šāmlu, *Hāfez-e Širāz be-revāyat-e Aḥmad-e Šāmlu* (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Morvārid, 1354). Šāmlu's approach has been vehemently condemned by Iranian scholars, from which one can infer that Hāfez as a culture-icon of Persian literature is not to be toyed with. See the scathing critique by J. Matini, "Divān-e Hāfez mirās-e gerān-qadr-e farhangī-ye mā," *Irān-nāmeḥ* 6:4 (Summer 1988): 597-641, who feels that meaning must inhere in the "traditional" version(s) of Hāfez to the extent that Šāmlu's intuitive re-arrangement, which has little to do with the manuscript tradition, irreparably mars the reader's experience, especially those younger readers who are being exposed to the poet for the first time. Curiously, the same learned hue and cry is not raised when performers (singers or declaimers) omit lines from the ghazals or re-arrange the order. The same issues informing the debate over Šāmlu's "edition" of Hāfez were raised in western cinematic circles over the colorization of classic black-and-white films.

⁵⁸ W. Skalmowski, "The Meaning of the Persian Ghazal," *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 18 (1987):141-62. This article actually proposes some very sound and interesting critical premises, but then proceeds to systematically bungle their application.

it just assumes their meaning to be mysterious.⁵⁹ A different kind of allegorical reading is found in the enlightening articles of J. Meisami, who sees the poems as encryptions of the courtly values of the society rather than as personal expressions of emotion.⁶⁰ Combining literary and mystical allegory, C. Kappler argues that the intertextuality with previous poems in the traditions helps to fix meaning and that many obscure points were probably clear to the immediate addressees, though, like our modern book dedications, the significance would often have been lost on outsiders.⁶¹ This intimation of the importance of the performance milieu has been stressed by a number of commentators on the Urdu ghazal, where the recitation tradition is still alive. Arguments have been made about the functional unity that the performance occasion imposes on the poem,⁶² and even that, since the

⁵⁹ For a contemporary application of this approach, see R. Feiz, "L'amour, l'Amant, l'Aimé': Langage profane et sens sacré chez Hāfiz," *Luqmān* 5:1 (fall/winter 1988-9):15-20.

⁶⁰ Meisami, "Allegorical Techniques in the Ghazals of Hāfez," *Edebiyāt* 4:1 (1979):1-40; "The world's pleasure': Hāfiz's allegorical gardens," in *Comparative Criticism* 5, ed. E.S. Shaffer, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 153-185.

⁶¹ Claude-Claire Kappler, "Lire Hafiz: Le jeu de l'apparence et du secret," in *Intoxication Earthly and Heavenly*, ed. M. Glünz and J. Bürgel, (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), 69-88. He also suggests that a kind of archetypal symmetry, like a mandala, informs some of Hāfez' poems in "De la forme au sens: la lecture de Hāfez comme méditation," *Luqmān* 6:1 (fall/winter 1989-90):39-47.

⁶² R. Russell employed the now-popular autobiographical genre of scholarly argument in his "The Pursuit of the Urdu Ghazal," *JAS* 29 #1 (Nov 1969):107-124, where he proposes

poems are sung, there is no need for them to be unified. In fact, goes one argument, they are not at all unified.⁶³

reading the poems in terms of the social function they play-- in his opinion a kind of safety-valve for the expression of illicit longings, similar to the courtly love of medieval Europe. He also feels the performance context of *mošā'ereh* helps to explain the structure of the poems, a point discussed further by C. Naim, "Poet-audience Interaction at Urdu Musha'iras," in *Urdu and Muslim South Asia: Studies in Honour of Ralph Russell*, ed. C. Shackleton, (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989), 167-73.

⁶³ F. Pritchett, "Orient Pearls Unstrung," argues that Urdu poets have no concept of poetic unity, the largest unity being the individual line, and that musical performance of the poem makes literary coherence unnecessary. This seems doubtful, and even more doubtful are Pritchett's projection backward from the modern Urdu ghazal tradition to reach conclusions about the pre-Indian style of *Hāfez'* Persian ghazals. The same erroneous argument about the unstructured nature of ghazals set to music was made by Hillman as a last-ditch attempt to explain the "Turk of Shiraz" poem). Of course, a musical setting would not *ipso facto* relieve poems of the urge to be literary or coherent (c.f. D. Lindley, *Lyric*, 26), for songs, just as much as written poems, usually reflect some pattern of textual organization (narrative ballads, strophe/anti-strophe, etc.). In any case, once a single poem with logical or structural patterning achieves renown, the paradigm of such unity would affect the reception of other poems as well, such that, if a given poem were wholly lacking in organizational unity, that absence would be felt by way of contrast. It seems much more likely that different organizational patterns were perceived by the audience/reader in different genres of poems (narrative, thematic, lexical, etc.). Indeed, as A. Schimmel suggested, the "Turk of Shiraz" poem is unified, by a subtle cartography of place, ethnicity and the beloved ("Hāfiz and his Critics," 30-31). Several geographic and ethnic concepts--Turk, Hindu, gypsies, Shiraz, the paradisaical garden and stream of Shiraz, Samarkand, Bukhara, and the politics of occupation of Iran by Turks, as well as a map of iconic love, in which the beloved's face, mole, and lips are traced in a landscape of wine and song (recall Cole Porter's lyric, "I like the looks of you the lure of you, I'd love to make a tour of you, the eyes of you the mouth of you, the east, west, north and south of you") --move through the poem, which closes its journey looking upward at the map of the Pleiades in the sky, itself a metaphor for the crafting of the poem. We might borrow a phrase from Adrienne Rich and read the poem like a map, as an "atlas of the

Musical structure has for some time provided an analogy of form for Persian and Arabic poetry, and the realization that ghazals are sung in performance strengthens the appeal of this metaphor.⁶⁴ While it should not be prescribed as a panacea to make every obscure passage or poem translucent, the foregrounding of the performance aspect of the ghazal is a potentially illuminating approach, which we would do well to keep in mind.

Meanwhile, as the students of the ghazal struggled to decrypt the code which would reveal its message, the whole concept of organic unity, a critical principle espoused by Coleridge, in which "the model of excellence would be the pattern of the God-infused cosmos...the reconciliation of opposite and discordant qualities,"⁶⁵ has come under fire from post-modernist theories of literature, some of which celebrate aporias or disjunctures of meaning, and the indeterminacy and ambiguities of texts, and attack the very idea of closure as a totalizing (and therefore by analogy to the body politic, a totalitarian) and repressive one. The text is now seen as:

difficult world."

⁶⁴ See W. Feldman, "A Musical Model for the Structure of the Ottoman Gazel," *Edebiyât* 1:1 (1987):71-89, which is more oriented to musical theory than the performance milieu.

⁶⁵ As characterized by E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *The Aims of Interpretation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 111.

... a carnival of language play celebrating the uncertainties it seeks to represent. And what had been a secure structure of linguistic hegemony is shaken and left tottering--or crumbled. Yet, unlike ideology, the poem itself stands up despite all its underminings, only strengthened by the cracks in its surfaces and depths. The well wrought urn should rather be thought of as the well cracked urn, its substance flowing through it until one cannot tell what is inside from what is outside: the world becomes its language and its language becomes the world. But it is a world out of control, in flight from ideology, seeking verbal security and finding none beyond that promised by a poetic text, but always a self-unsealing poetic text.⁶⁶

Despite the unquestionable importance that close reading plays in the understanding of poetic texts, the New Criticism, the various linguistic and structuralist schools of analysis, and the post-modernist celebration of aporia, all approach poems in a textually over-determined fashion, placing too much weight on text at the expense of context (Saussure, Jakobson, Propp).⁶⁷ In conjunction with close reading, valuable insights have been gleaned by application of anthropological models, such as the rite of passage or the gift-exchange, which see poems as quasi-ritual acts or at least as encoded metaphors for extra-textual social structures and realities.

⁶⁶ M. Krieger, *A Reopening of Closure: Organicism Against Itself* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 29. Krieger notices that as readers we seem to have a "perceptual habit" of imposing unity on the texts we read. Perhaps this perceptual habit to find order in the world is an innate human characteristic, the repression of which denies us our humanity.

⁶⁷ A cogent critique is given by R. Scholes, *Semiotics and Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 10-12.

Such approaches have been applied to Arabic poetry with startling results.⁶⁸

Within the context of European literature, the theory of "orality" as first developed by Milman and Perry as an approach to Homer⁶⁹ and now applied to Anglo-Saxon and a variety of other oral literatures,⁷⁰ including Arabic,⁷¹ has been useful in establishing how a poet in an oral culture can draw from a storehouse of pre-determined basic metrical phrases, such as epithets, to construct a poem. This requires

⁶⁸ For example, S. Sperl, "Islamic Kingship and Arabic Panegyric Poetry in the Early 9th Century," *JAL* 8 (1979):25-31; S. Stetkevych, "The Şu'luk and His Poem: A Paradigm of Passage Manqué," *JAOS* 104:4 (1984):661-78 and "al-Qaṣīdah al-'Arabīyah wa Ṭuqūs al-'Ubūr: Dirāsah fī al-Bunyah al-Namūdajīyah," *Majallat Majma' al-lughah al-'arabīyah bi-Dimašq* 60:1 (1985):55-85 and "Ritual and Sacrificial Elements in the Poetry of Blood-Vengeance: Two Poems by Durayd Ibn al-Şimmaḥ and Muḥalhil Ibn Rabī'ah," *JNES* 45:1 (1986):31-43, and "Pre-Islamic Panegyric and the Poetics of Redemption: Mufaddalīyah 119 of 'Alqamah ibn 'Abadah and Bānat Su'ād of Ka'b ibn Zuhayr," in *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, ed. S. Stetkevych, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1-57. L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); S. Caton, *"Peaks of Yemen I Summon": Poetry as Cultural Practice in a North Yemeni Tribe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and J. Stetkevych, *Zephyrs of Najd*, op. cit., 26-49.

⁶⁹ A. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

⁷⁰ See J. Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition* (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, 1988). For an application to a specific literature, see I. Lokpewho, *The Epic in Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

⁷¹ See M. Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978); S. Slyomovics, *The Merchant of Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); B. Connelly, *Arab Folk Epic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

us to abandon the Lachmannian imagination of literature as a purely textual artform, as W. Ong has explained:

Language study in all but recent decades has focused on written texts rather than on orality for a readily assignable reason: the relationship of study itself to writing....Texts have clamored for attention so peremptorily that oral creations have tended to be regarded generally as variants of written productions, or, if not this, as beneath serious scholarly attention.⁷²

B. Stock has further proposed the term "textual community",⁷³ to describe the half-oral, half-literate environment in which medieval texts were generated and delivered, with specific reference primarily to legal and religious texts, though others have developed these ideas about the process of production of literary texts in an oral culture that was moving toward textuality.⁷⁴ In such textual communities, in the intermediate stage of orality and textuality, both author and audience hold a common store of knowledge in their minds that allows a text to produce meaning in the process of performance. This concept requires the recognition that

⁷² Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: Technologizing the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982), 8.

⁷³ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

⁷⁴ E.g., M. Irvine, "Medieval Textuality and the Archaeology of Textual Culture," in *Speaking in Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies*, ed. A. Frantzen, (State University of New York Press, 1991), 181-210; T. Machan, "Editing, Orality, and Late Middle English Texts," in *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Doane and C. Pasternak, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 229-245.

medieval literature was not a wholly textual but a performance art.⁷⁵ As P. Zumthor has put it:

Medieval poetry is a poetry-in-context, and its context is so deeply inscribed in the code that the text seems to be very scantily marked by indicators referring explicitly to it. The relationship of the text to the listener implies direct confrontation, a real dialogue between characters in immediate contact with each other. Medieval poetics is thus a poetics of effects, tending in performance to fulfill an expectation that contains known constants and is part of the poetic enterprise. A reader's knowledge of the author of a modern work often plays a part, albeit a fairly obscure one, in the way he decodes the text. In the Middle Ages the position is much clearer. The hearer of the text perceives not so much an author as a speaker, whose status is apparent, and the speaker uses a code that enshrines their relationship. Even without knowing the extent to which expectations will be satisfied, the listener does at least know which inner questions will be answered by the text that is being sung or recited.⁷⁶

Working from this premise, I will attempt a preliminary reconstruction of the performance context for the ghazal below, which will, I think, help to illuminate our understanding of this poetry.

Above and beyond this, it is important to remember that the ghazal was not always **the Ghazal**; that is to say that it was in a constant state of evolution and we should not always expect it to conform nicely to the description given in the

⁷⁵ See W. Ong, *Interfaces of the Word* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977) and *Orality and Literacy*, op. cit.; E. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986); W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), and especially P. Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, P. Bennett, trans., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

⁷⁶ Zumthor, *Medieval Poetics*, 22.

rhetorical manuals. It seems necessary to me, at least in the period up to Hāfez, to deconstruct the notion of ghazal and to recognize that different *topoi* with various and perhaps mutually exclusive semiotic horizons should be considered as separate genres and not merely as a static entity, the ghazal. The wine ode, the dying love poem, the love enjoyed theme, the ascetic, the mystical, the *qalandari*, the Sufi initiation, the courtly praise theme, perhaps all should be seen as different genres which only gradually grew to share a common formal structure. The semiotic expectations which each genre or separate *topos* generated may help us to understand how one *topos* bleeds into the next to create a complex spectrum of meaning in those poems which, lacking a discernible narrative structure, appear notoriously atomistic. The sub-genres of the ghazal will be examined in Chapter Five, but for the moment, let us examine the ghazal from a philological point of view.

In Search of the Historical Ghazal

The love theme predominates in a number of poems in various forms (*qeṭ'eh*, *robā'i*, *tağazzol*), ostensibly independent of the *qaṣideh*, in the surviving examples of the Persian poetry of the 3rd/10th century Persian poetry.⁷⁷ Most of the recorded neo-Persian poetry of this period is panegyrical, probably because amatory lyrics circulated in a

⁷⁷ e.g., Mo'ayyad, op. cit., 121, and Mo'taman, *Taḥavvol*, 202.

popular musical performance environment and, not being associated with a court or ruler, the incentive to record them or even to see them as poetry, as distinct from song, was lacking.⁷⁸ Indeed, though Persian poetry draws on the imagery and topoi of Arabic poetry, it was distinguished from the outset by unique prosodic, structural and even thematic features.⁷⁹ A Persian preference for metaphor as a rhetorical strategy, in contrast to an ostensible Arab preference for simile, has also been postulated.⁸⁰ Neo-Persian poetry has roots in the poetic tradition of the Sasanian period and before, probably borrowing motifs from the Arabic ghazal and the forms and imagery of the *badī`* poets, probably by way of the sub-literate performance tradition of the minstrels.⁸¹ It is interesting to note that the other

⁷⁸ Mo'taman, *Tahavvol*, 199-201.

⁷⁹ B. Reinert, "Probleme der vormongolischen arabisch-persischen Poesiegemeinschaft," in *Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development*, ed. by G. E. von Grunebaum, 72-105, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), attempts to draw some distinctions between the poetry written in Eastern Iran and that written in the west of Iran (76-81), but insists on the individual character of Persian poetry with respect to form and theme from the outset (71-76).

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 94-5. W. Heinrichs feels Reinert has overstated the case, but nonetheless agrees with the general point; see his *Hand of the Northwind*, 13n32.

⁸¹ M. Boyce, "The Parthian Gōsān and Iranian Minstrel Tradition," *JRAS* 18 (1957), 21, notes that there is no native word in Neo- or Middle-Persian to denote a poet as distinct from a musician, and this is probably why, though several terms relating to minstrelsy exist, Persian borrowed "šā'er" from Arabic to distinguish a respectable, literate lyricist from a mere minstrel (*xonyāgar*, *rāmešgar*; these Persian words were gradually replaced by the Arabic *moṭreb* during the

major formal innovation in the Arabic literary world, the *muwaššah*, likewise took place in a bilingual atmosphere, probably under Arabo-Romance musical influences, as the form is structurally and melodically similar to the Romance *rondeau*.⁸² A comparison of the Arabic *ghazal* to the Persian is beyond the scope of this discussion, and debate about origins can become internecine and interminable, like the argument over the genesis of troubadour poetry among scholars of Romance and Arabic poetry,⁸³ but it is worth noting that

5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries). See also the important study of Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Hamāseh-sarā-ye bāstān," *Simorgh* (Našrieh-ye Bonyād-e Šāh-nāmeḥ-ye Ferdowsi) 5 (Summer 2537/1357), 3-27, which discusses the musical performance tradition of certain short pieces of the epic material; the social status of the *luriān*, the *gōsān*, and the musicians at the Sasanian court; as well as the development of the separate professions of the poet and that of the minstrel/musician in the Islamic period.

⁸² J. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California, 1974), 30-31. The presence at the court of Córdoba in Andalusia of Ziryāb, a Persian musician acting as an "arbiter elegantiarum" (7), tempts one to see the influence of Persian strophic poetry in addition to the Romance vernacular. A. Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry*, 5, argues that the *muwaššah* was a popular form, probably sung, and that several generations of such poems were lost before they were thought worthy of recording. This situation is analogous to the oral poetry that was evidently being produced in Iran prior to the 10th century A.D.

⁸³ See Maria R. Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), for a recent summary of the debate. She sides with the argument that the word "Troubadour" comes from Arabic "*ṭarab*" (connoting joy, merriment and music-making) and that the Arabic literary tradition meshed with Spanish vernacular song to create the milieu in which was born the *zajal*, *muwaššahāt* and Provençal *canço* and *sirventes*.

pre-Islamic Iran appears to have known a love lyric tradition⁸⁴ which remained a vital and primary mood in folk poems such as the *fahlaviāt*, characterized by non-quantitative meters, until at least the 7th/13th century.⁸⁵ It must also be pointed out that poetry on the theme of love was often linked with the *radif* or refrain, a native Persian feature of prosody, and with the *robā'i* form, a native Persian verse form.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly, the motifs and tropes of the Arabic ghazal were borrowed by Persian poets, for example, the Majnūn-Laylī cycle, which, however, received the greatest attention in Persian letters in the *magnavi* form, or couplet, again a native Persian prosodic tradition (like the *motaqāreb* meter),⁸⁷ and not in the ghazal. The Arabic ghazal poets in

⁸⁴ L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Meters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 169-171, 246. Elwell-Sutton argues that the *sorūd* (MP *srōd* [Elwell-Sutton gives it as "sarud"]) was a royal or hieratic hymn, the *cakāmak* (MP *čegāmag*) or *cāmak* a love lyric or romance, and the *tarānak* a drinking or feasting song. Cf., O. Klima, "Avesta, Ancient Persian and Middle Persian," in *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. J. Rypka, (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1968), 49ff.

⁸⁵ See P. N. Xānlari, *Vazn-e še'r-e fārsi* (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1345/1956), 38-77; and for the *fahlaviāt* and other forms of Persian folk poetry, T. Vahidiān-kāmyār, *Bar-rasi-ye vazn-e še'r-e 'āmmiāneh-ye fārsi* (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Āgāh, 1357/1978). Elwell-Sutton, op. cit., 168-185, gives a sound account of the genesis of neo-Persian meters.

⁸⁶ M.R. Šafi'i-Kadkani, *Musiqi-ye še'r* (Paris: Enteshārāt-e Xāvarān, 1368/1989), 119-130 on the *radif* and 176-7 on the *robā'i*.

⁸⁷ For the Persian origins of the *motaqāreb* meter, see G. E. von Grunebaum, "Firdausi's Concept of History," in *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, ed. G.E. von Grunebaum, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), 179-

the second century of Islam also composed the majority of their poems in meters rarely or never used by Persian ghazal poets.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the Persian poets, when making mention of famous Arab predecessors in the poetic craft, usually speak of Jarīr, al-Farazdaq, al-Mutanabbī and al-Buḥturī rather than the ghazal poets, Jamīl, al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, Muslim ibn al-Walīd or 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah, who, I believe are rarely spoken of by Persian poets. The homoerotic ethos suffusing Persian ghazal poetry is also not of Arab origin.⁸⁹

80. For the Persian influence on the development of the Arabic *masnawī* or *muzdawij* (couplet) see G.E. von Grunebaum, "Early Development of Muzdawij Poetry," *JNES* 3 (1944):9-13; M. Ullman, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), 48ff, raises some objections, but the *magnavi* is without question a native form in Neo-Persian, dating perhaps to Parthian times.

⁸⁸ Y. H. Bakkār, *Ittijāhāt al-ğazal fī al-qarn al-tānī al-hijrī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1971), the chart on page 359. See chapter 4 below and the appendices of the present work for a statistical inventory of the meter of Sanā'i's ghazals. One may compare with the statistical survey of the meters of a number of Persian poets in Elwell-Sutton, *Persian Meters*, 145-167.

⁸⁹ Bakkār, *Ittijāhāt al-ğazal*, 195-207, which provides several medieval Arabic sources in support of the view that the Arabs prior to and in the first century after Islam (with the possible exception of an unnamed tribe or two) inclined only to women, or at least confined the object of their *tašbīb*s (the amatory introit to the *qaṣīdah*) to women, and that desire for *ğilmān* (slaves or pages) arose among the armies in Khurasan only out of necessity. It is more likely that the Hellenistic cult of the ephebe and the practice of selling conquered peoples into concubinage created the homoerotic ethos in Iran (it is especially towards young warrior Turks, who were first slaves and later overlords in the Iranian lands, that homoerotic desire is directed). Although the beloved of the miniature painters during the Mongol dynasty and later is female, in the early classical period the beloved of the Persian ghazal poets (though this is not the case for the epic or romance) is usually male or

Additionally, one can point to the Iranian nationality of a poet like Abū Nūwās, who composed macaronic Persian verses and toyed with formal innovations, such as the *musammaṭ*, perhaps suggested to him by Iranian strophic poetry.⁹⁰

Blachère speculates on the origins of the *nasīb* and its introduction into the Arabic *qaṣīdah*, placing this in the urban centers closely linked with the bedouin way of life prior to 575 A.D., especially the "Bakrī poets or others" in the orbit of al-Hīra,⁹¹ where, of course, the Lakhmids ruled as Sasanian clients and quite likely emulated Sasanian court practices, including minstrelsy. One may therefore speculate

androgynous, and rarely explicitly female, a fact which no major European translator has taken account of. Most scholars have seemingly ignored or been reticent about this homoeroticism, but see J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, op. cit., 85-89; Mo'ayyad, op. cit., 132 and 137; E. Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry," *Studia Islamica* 13 (1960):48-53; and Meisami, *Medieval Persian*, 245-51. See also Chapter Five, Set Five.

⁹⁰ H.-P. Schmidt, *Form and Meaning of Yasna 33* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1985), 31ff, sees Yasna 33 as a stanzaic poem with stress-based meter and a number of other "poetic" features. If so, strophic poetry in Iranian languages can be traced all the way back to the *gāthās* of Zoroaster, whatever date one wishes to ascribe to the Iranian prophet (800-1000 BC?). The strophic forms of Arabic poetry originated on foreign soil (Andalusia and Iraq), in bilingual milieus, often as elaborations or macaronic interpolations of the lines of an existing Arabic poem. It seems to me that strophic poems are much more numerous and lasting in Persian than in Arabic poetry, which would suggest that Sasanian poetry, quite likely under Hellenic influences, was already aware of such forms. For a contrary view, see Šafi'i-Kadkani, *Musiqi*, 169-74, who thinks the *musammaṭ* and *muwašṣaḥāt* developed naturally among the *muḥdaṭūn* poets as a result of the monotony of the mono-rhymed Arabic *qaṣīdah*.

⁹¹ R. Blachère, *EI*², s.v. "ghazal," 1028-9.

that the traditions of the Iranian *gōsān*⁹² may have helped shape the *nasīb* and/or the independent ghazal in the Arabian context. Without becoming involved in an ethnic imbroglio reminiscent of the *šū'ūbīyah*, the influence of music and performance styles does not respect linguistic borders, and there certainly was some interchange of literary styles among Byzantine, Jewish, Persian and Arab musicians in ancient Syria and Iraq.⁹³

⁹² See M. Boyce, "The Parthian *Gōsān*," op. cit., and Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Hamāseh-sarā-ye bāstān," op. cit.

⁹³ The suggestion of the influence of Greek and Persian singers on the development of the ghazal is made by H.A.R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature: An introduction*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 44, which seems to follow Nicholson, who, without mentioning the ghazal by name, made much the same argument, linking the rise of love poetry, in which "the words and the melody are inseparably united," to Greek and Persian singing-girls. Nicholson approvingly quotes Brockleman's view that the "love-poetry" of Jamīl, al-'Arjī and al-Aḥwaṣ is "largely of popular origin" and can be thought of as "true folk-songs." R. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 3rd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 236-8. Nicholson's student, U.M. Daudpota, *The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry* (Bombay: The Fort Printing Press, 1938), 68-9, calls attention to a passage from Ibn Xaldūn about metric innovations of Muslim b. al-Walīd that appear to be connected to their musical performance in a bi-lingual milieu, at the Barmakid court. Abdullah al-Udhari and George Wightman, ed. and tr., *Birds Through a Ceiling of Alabaster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976), 16, see the 'udrī and the Meccan ghazal poets composing, like Thomas Wyatt, under musical influence. O. Wright, "Music and Verse," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. Beeston, et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 438-9, points out that the pre-Islamic poet Maymūn b. Qays al-A'sā mentions several instruments of Persian origin as well as male musicians, which Wright conjectures may be a Persian feature, in contradistinction to the *gaynah* or singing slave girl typically depicted in Arabic poetry (discussed at greater length by Daudpota, 164-6). O. Klima, op. cit., 52, lists several other examples of Persian musicians and singers

In any case, the Arabic ghazal, though distinct from the *qaṣīdah*, was defined more by its thematics than by its form, whereas the Persian ghazal came to denote a poem of between seven and fourteen lines⁹⁴ with a *maṭla'*, or opening line rhyming in both hemistichs; and with a *taxalloṣ*, or signature, in the last line (*maqṭa'*). The ghazal completely displaced the *qaṣīdah* as the preferred vehicle of poetic expression in

influencing Arab musicians. See also the article by O. Wright, "Arab Music. I. Art Music, 1-4" in *the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, (London: MacMillan, 1980), 1:514-21, who notes (515-16) that the early Umayyad period saw the introduction of the Persian wooden-bellied, short-necked lute (*'ūd*) into the ensemble of Arab instruments, sojourns in Byzantine and Persian territories by Arab musicians like Ibn Misjah and Ibn Muhriz (both d. 715). Except as far as rhythm is concerned, Wright sees (518) a full integration of the Persian and Arab traditions of art music by the mid-13th century A.D. at the latest.

⁹⁴ M.T. Bahār, *Še'r dar Irān*, 80, reckons seven or nine lines to be normative, while eleven should be the upper limit. He differentiates it from the Persian *qaṣīdah* in terms of length (claiming that anything between eleven and 1000 lines is a *qaṣīdah*) and subject matter, the ghazal being originally on themes of love and the poet's plight in that state, and later edging into philosophical and mystical themes. By contrast, the *qaṣīdah* is for panegyre, invective, lament, self-praise or self-defense, and later on religious and political themes. For a medieval definition from the 7th century A.H., see Šams-e Qays Rāzi, *al-Mo'jam fi ma'āyir aš'ār al-'ajam*, ed. Modarres-e Rażavi, (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Tehrān, n.d.), 201, a poem is a *qaṣīdah*, according to Šams-e Qays, if it is more than fifteen lines and begins with a line rhymed in both hemistichs (*bayt-e maṭla' moṣarra'*). If less than fifteen lines, or in the event that it does not begin with a double-rhyme, it is a *qet'eh*, unless the subject matter is the "arts of love", in which case it is a ghazal. This view, probably following an Arabic manual of poetics, implies that both latter forms are derived from the *qaṣīdah*.

Persian by the end of the 13th century A.D.⁹⁵ In Arabic, by contrast, the ghazal never did crystallize into a normative form or achieve preeminence, as J. Stetkevych explains:

The alternative to the *qaṣīdah*, or at least to the structured *nasīb*, which Ibn Abī Rabī'ah's *ghazal* seems to offer, did in the long run lead to the legitimization of a formal fragmenting of the complex ode structure. By independently developing only one aspect of the *nasīb*, however, it could not aspire to being an all-encompassing alternative to the traditional "great" form. Formally at least, it was bound to remain an unfinished, if charming, development, like every other formal development in Arabic poetry that was not the *qaṣīdah*.⁹⁶

While the modernist poets (*muḥdaṭūn*) of the 'Abbasid period are credited with the introduction of "various new and independent genres such as *khamriyyāt*, *ṭaradiyyāt*, *zuhdiyyāt*, *mujūniyyāt* and others," Heinrichs argues that the themes of such "genres" can be found in the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah*, which, in any case, "never ceased to exist in its original form."⁹⁷

Why, then, and how did the ghazal develop into a fixed form genre in Persian? Modern scholarship has proposed, in

⁹⁵ See Bausani, *EP*, s.v. "Ghazal, ii", 1033-36, traces five periods in the development of the Persian ghazal: the non-formulaic love poems of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th century; the introduction of mysticism in the 4th-7th/10th-13th c.; the classical period (7th-10th/13th-16th c.), during which the formal aspects crystallize (which ignores Sanā'i's role in the process); the abstract expressionism of the Indian style; and, finally, the neo-classical and modernist adoption of non-traditional themes.

⁹⁶ J. Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd*, 57.

⁹⁷ W. Heinrichs, "Literary Theory," op. cit., 25. I infer from Heinrichs' phrasing some skepticism about the supposed ex-*qaṣīdah* origin of these genres, which in any case, as he points out, were already being practiced by some Umayyad poets.

addition to the theory of Arabic origin (Šebli No'māni, Y.E. Bertels), that the Persian ghazal derives from Chinese models,⁹⁸ that it is a development from Persian folk poetry (I.S. Braginskiy), or, a combination of the folk tradition and Arabic models (A. Mirzoev).⁹⁹ Though Rypka denies the existence of the ghazal in the Samanid period, some of the amatory poems in the 4th/10th century corpus do almost appear to be ghazals in the later formal sense, while many others consist of only one or two lines, and we cannot be sure whether they are independent poems or the opening *tagazzol* sections of *qaṣidehs* which gained currency outside the courts after discarding the panegyrical sections. However, it is quite possible, in view of the fact that several of the 4th/10th century poets are known to have been musicians, that such poems were recited in musical contexts and might never have consisted of more than a line or two. We find references to songs, *sorud* or *cakāmeḥ* in the 3rd/10th and 4th/11th century, and though the association with musical performance

⁹⁸ A. Bausani, "Considerazione sull'origine del ghazal," *Quaderno dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 160 (1971), 195-208, an argument I am unable to pass judgement on.

⁹⁹ A survey of the various views is given by Bausani, *ET*², who tends to side with A. Mirzoev's argument about the simultaneous existence of a technical and a folk ghazal tradition, which gradually merge. Meisami, *Medieval Persian*, 237-8n1, argues that these theories cannot be correct because they misconstrue the early meaning of the word *ghazal*. She is generally correct about the meaning of the word, as I will detail below, but the fact that the word *ghazal* denoted a "content based genre" and not yet a "formal genre," does not mean that a concept of a love lyric form did not exist under another name or with no name.

is clear, it is unclear to what extent these are associated in the minds of the poets who use such words with the forms bearing the same name in the Sasanian period.¹⁰⁰ Though it seems to me that the amatory verses of the 3rd/10th century poets are not simply detached fragments, the Persian critics, following the Arabic theorists, conceived of the proto-typical *qaṣīdeh* as beginning with an amatory exordium to catch the audience's attention (though in Persian praxis, such poems often begin with a description of spring rather than of the beloved). This section, the *nasīb* of the classical Arabic *qaṣīdah*, was variously called *ghazal*, *tağazzol*, *tašbib* and *nasib* throughout the medieval period with little practical difference in meaning, long after the *ghazal* as we know it had been recognized as a formal genre.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ A. T. Rāzāni, *Še'r va musiqi* (n.p., 1340/1961), 22-26, offers a description of the Sasanian forms *sorud/sarvād/sorud-e xosrovāni*, *caḳāmak*, and *tarānak*, their syllabic prosody, their subject matters and their performance occasions. Compare this with the description given by Bahār, *Še'r dar Irān*, 73-77, as well as that of Khaleghi-Motlagh in "Hamāseh-sarā-ye bāstān," 3-27. In the *Tārix-e Sistān*, ed. M.T. Bahār, (Tehran: Ketābxāneh-ye Zavvār, 1314/1934), 37, we find a poem associated with Zoroastrian Iran, entitled *Sorud-e Karkuy*, which Bahār thought to be syllabic (n6), but which D. Šafā, *Tārix-e adabiāt dar Irān*, 6th ed., (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Ferdows, 1366), 1:147, accounts as an eastern Iranian dialect from the early Islamic period. The poem is clearly a strophic poem such as can be seen in a few of Qaṭrān's *tarji'āt* or Manucehri's *mosammaṭāt*, with each hemistich rhyming, except for the last, which is addressed to the Shah. The themes treated include praise, wine, the embrace of the beloved and ethical philosophy, all quite common in the 10th century poets, as well.

¹⁰¹ E.g., Šams-e Qays, *al-Mo'jam*, 413 and Tāj al-Ḥalāvi, *Daqāyeq al-Še'r*, ed. S.M. Kāzem-emām (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Tehrān, 1962), 84-5.

Very frequently, these short amatory poems employ the *radif*, or refrain, a Persian invention. Indeed, in 'Ayyuqi's romance *Varqah va Golšāh*, most likely written within a generation of Ferdowsi, and therefore attributable to about the early mid-11th century A.D., we find a story of love and adventure, adapted from an Arabic source, set in a *motaqāreb* meter in the *magnavi* form (both native to Persian prosody), where the two hemistichs of each line rhyme with one another but not normally with any of the lines in close proximity (as in heroic couplets: aa/bb/cc/dd/ee, etc.). In 'Ayyuqi's poem, however, a number of inlaid lyrical poems, each four to eight lines long, announced as poems (*še'r*) and recited (*goft, yād kard*) by one or the other protagonist of the story, punctuate the text. These inlaid poems, observe the same meter as the rest of the *magnavi*, and while dropping the couplet form's rhyme from the first hemistich, observe the supplementary prosodic artifice of the *radif* (aa-refrain/ba-refrain/ca-refrain, etc.). Unlike the rest of the lines, these interludes do not forward the narrative, but are lyrical in mood and in orientation--a love suit, a lament for love lost, a love plaint, lament for the dead, etc.--all emotions moving the character to an I-thou dialogue, often as an apostrophe to the absent thou, and hence are songs of soliloquy. These inlaid poems, lacking only the *taxalloṣ* (though one of the poems observes this, as well), look for all the world like

formal ghazals,¹⁰² though 'Ayyuqi describes them in each instance as "še'r," meaning simply an individual poem.¹⁰³ In the mid-eleventh century, then, we have clear evidence of the existence of self-contained lyrical poems observing highly determined prosodic features, derived neither from the *qaṣīdeh* nor from narrative poetry. It is possible that these lyrics are also linked to a musical or cantillated style of delivery distinct from the declamatory style of the rest of the *maṣnavi* poem (the delivery of the *naqqāl* of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* is a distinct style of performance, though perhaps the *maṣnavi* romances were not declaimed in the same manner as heroic epic). As R. Dankoff has pointed out, the inclusion of such poems within the body of a *maṣnavi* must be seen as the origin

¹⁰² In fact, Rypka, op. cit., 177, who has denied the existence of such a form for the 10th century, calls these inlaid poems "love songs in the form of *ghazals*."

¹⁰³ D. Şafā, ed., *Varqah va Golšāh-e 'Ayyuqi* (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Tehrān, 1343/1964), 13 (rhyme --āh and *radif* -e *man*, described as *še'r*), 15 (--ār and -e *man*, a "*še'r*" on separation "*hejr*" in which the first hemistichs of line 2 and 3 also rhyme and have a counter *radif*, -e *to*), 17-18 (--ang, no *radif*, called *še'r*, ends with *taxalloṣ* as in a formal *ghazal*), 20 (--ān and *man-am*, all *meṣra's* observe the *radif*, lines 2-4 employ anaphora, the poem is introduced as *še'r*), 27 (--ard, no *radif*, *še'r*), 39 (--eh and *šoḍ*, not put in the mouth of a character); 60 (--ad and *hami*, all *miṣra's* have rhyme and *radif*, not put in the mouth of a character), 75 (--ān and -e *man*), 81-2 (--and, no *radif*, *še'r*), 108 (--ib, no *radif*, *še'r*), 110 (--āh, introduced as *še'r yād kard*), 112 (--āz, no *radif*, introduced as *še'r-e tāzi*, though it is in Persian).

of the later verse form, *dah-nāmeḥ* or *ʿoššāq-nāmeḥ*, made popular by *ʿErāqi* and others in the 13th century A.D.¹⁰⁴

The Persian poets of the tenth century A.D., some writing perhaps more than a hundred years before *ʿAyyuqi*, also usually refer to poems as "*šeʿr*," and also "*bayt*" or "*do-bayti*." They refer to themselves as "*šāʿer*" and to the craft of poetry as "*šāʿeri*." The following several terms relating to poetic forms or prosody are found:¹⁰⁵

ŠEʿR: which designates poetry or a poem (especially the indefinite *šeʿr-i*),¹⁰⁶

AŠʿĀR: plural form of the above,¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ See his insightful article on this romance and a Turkish imitation, "The Lyric in the Romance: The Use of Ghazals in Persian and Turkish Masnavīs," *JNES* 43:1 (1984):9-25.

¹⁰⁵ Based on a thorough search through G. Lazard, *Ašʿār-e parākandeh-ye qadimtarin šoʿarā-ye fārsi-zabān*, v. 2, (Tehran: Qesmat-e Irānšenāsi-ye Anstītu-ye Irān va Farānseh, 1341/1962) and the poems of Rudaki as collected by S. Nafisi, *Moḥiṭ-e zendegi*, op. cit. In the examples cited in the notes, the poet's name is given followed by a page number and the line number. Page numbers for all poets other than Rudaki refer to the work of Lazard; for Rudaki, the page numbers refer to the work of Nafisi.

¹⁰⁶ Abu al-ʿAbbās Rabenjāni (68:28 in conjunction with "*bayt*," 69:38 and 219n38 where he speaks of *šeʿr-e bandeh*--this servant's poetry--and *šeʿr-e nov-at*--your new poem, and 71:47, with the verb *goftan*--to speak or compose a poem), Šahid-e Balxi (25:14 where *šeʿr* is seen as a kind of speech, *soxan*; 31:51 where *šeʿr* must have wisdom, pleasure and *cʾm* [*cam* or *com*], which could be either "meaning" or "boasting"), and Daqiqi (153:95-99). Rudaki uses the word several times, for example, with the verb *goftan* (492:21) and *yād kardan* (492:22) in the meaning of a specific poem (497:162; see also, e.g., 499:214, 508:437, 510:499, etc.).

¹⁰⁷ Abu al-Ḥayṣam Gorgāni (52:6) and Šahid-e Balxi (37:92 referring to his own compositions).

ŠĀ'ER: for a poet,¹⁰⁸

BAYT: meaning a line of verse,¹⁰⁹

NAZM: used to distinguish versified speech from prose
(*nagr*),¹¹⁰

VAZN: meaning meter, a hapax legomenon, referring to speech
(*soxan*) bored like a pearl, according to proper
weights and measures (*be-vazn o me'yār*), i.e.,
rhythms.¹¹¹

All these words and the categories they refer to are derived from Arabic, the learned language, which distinguishes between poet and musician in a way Middle Persian apparently did not,¹¹² as are most of the terms found in Kaykāvus ebn Vošmgir's chapter on poetry (*dar rasm-e šā'eri*) in the *Qābus-nāmeḥ* (w. 475/1082), the earliest surviving discussion in

¹⁰⁸ Šahid-e Balxi (25:14-15, where it occurs in first the Arabic and then the Persian plural forms [*šo'arā*, *šā'erān*], and 31:51, about a poet boasting of his skills) and Rabenjani, though the verse is of doubtful ascription, (71:48 telling the Amir his poets are not any good). Daqiqi describes Šahid as a poet (161:174). Rudaki uses the word in the plural to speak of the poets of the age and their panegyric ability (497:154; see also 499:215), and to distinguish Farālāvi and Šahid as poets, all others being merely reciters (*rāvi*, 531:723).

¹⁰⁹ Rabenjani, (68:28), speaking of one or two small lines of verse (*yek do baytak az in še'r-e man*).

¹¹⁰ Gorgāni (62:79-80). Rudaki uses *nazm* in the context of the song of a poet or of the nightingale (512:543).

¹¹¹ Gorgāni (63:86).

¹¹² Boyce, "The Parthian Gōsān," 21 and 32-45. She notes that in Afghanistan the literate poet (*šā'er*) is still distinguished from the jongleur, designated by local vernacular words. As a corrective to her view that the minstrel tradition gradually lapsed after the practice of literate poetry (*še'r*) was borrowed from the Arabs, the ability to compose verse extemporaneously continued to be required of the Persian poet well after Rudaki, and the association of poetry with music lingers on at least through Hāfez (as will be seen in some of the anecdotes and verses cited below).

Persian of prosody and poetry: *madḥ* (panegyre), *ġazal* (love lyric), *hejā* (satire), *margiat* (lament) and *zohd* (asceticism). These terms designate the theme or content of a poem, while two specific fixed forms, the *tarāneh* (most probably meaning the *do bayti* or *robā'i*) and *qaṣideh*, are also mentioned.¹¹³

The meaning of *ġazal* is somewhat more ambiguous in Kaykāvus' usage; he appears in the first instance to see *ġazal* and *tarāneh*, in contrast to *madḥ*, as forms of poetry which should be based on light, popular meters and rhymes, devoid of difficult language, and appealing equally to the elite and the common folk (138:2-5). Because of the juxtaposition with *tarāneh*, probably denoting the specific form and meter of a quatrain (either the *robā'i* or even the non-quantitative *fahlavi*), one is tempted to understand *ġazal* here as a distinct form, like the inlaid poems (*še'r*) found in *Varqah va Golšāh*. The next occurrence (138:17-139:2), however, classifies *še'r* (perhaps a philosophical poem?), *madḥ*, *ġazal*, *hejā*, *margiat*, *zohd* as kinds of *soxan*, (speech, discourse), clearly referring to the themes of a given poem, and not their outward form, though he does divide *soxan* into the formal categories of verse (*nazm*) and prose (*naṣr*). Notice should be taken of Kaykāvus' dictum that a poem on any of these themes must be a whole, unified thought or discourse (*soxan keh*

¹¹³ 'Onsor al-Ma'ālī Kaykāvus ebn Vošmgir, *Qābus-nāmeḥ*, ed. S. Nafisi, 6th ed., (Tehran: Ofset-e Marvi, 1366/1987), 137-40. The parenthetical numbers in the next paragraph refer to the page and line number of this work.

gu'i....dād-e ān dar soxan tamāmi be-deh va har gez soxan nā-tamām ma-guy), a point which probably cannot be found so clearly in any other medieval manual of poetics,¹¹⁴ an aesthetic principle he seems to deduce from the 10th century poets, whose verses appear more logically consistent than much of later Persian poetry. Once again (139:3-4) he pairs *ġazal* and *tarāneh*, which should be juicy (*ābdār*), in opposition to *madh*, which should be strong and bold (*qavi va delir*), but should not grossly exaggerate the military prowess of the patron. We should understand *madh* not as a form of its own, but as an attitude or rhetorical aim of poetry, like *hejā* (satire), both of which are mentioned in connection with the *qaṣīdeh* form (139:10-11). Indeed, Kaykāvus apparently distinguishes the modes of lyric from those of the epideictic oration in a passage directing that *ġazal* and *marsiāt* should be composed/recited in one manner, with *hejā* and *madh* in another (*ammā ġazal va marsiāt az yek ṭariq guy va hejā va madh az yek ṭariq*), since the two elements of each pair are the inverse emotional poles of a particular rhetorical orientation to the subject of the poem (139:14-17). He apparently sees the subject matter or the images (*ma'ni, lafz*) of the rhetorical modes--*hejā* and *madh*--as interchangeable, and likewise the themes or images of the lyric modes--*ġazal* and *marsiāt*--as interchangeable, but he gives no indication

¹¹⁴ Compare this clear statement to the optimistic estimate of Šams-e Qays' notion of poetic unity given by Clinton, "Esthetics by Implication," 80-83.

that the rhetorical themes can be mixed with the lyric ones (139:20-22 and 140:2). He also mentions that panegyric, if you wish to make money for it, must be recited in the presence of the patron with good cheer and proper attire (140:2-5),¹¹⁵ though we can infer that other kinds of poetry, such as *ġazal*, can be practiced in a popular setting. In his chapter on minstrelsy (*andar ādāb-e xonyāgarī*), it seems that Kaykāvus particularly associates *ġazal* poetry with a popular and musical milieu: it is to be memorized, along with *še'r* (142:14), and one must avoid composing meterless *ġazal* and *tarāneh* (*bi-vazn ma-guy*, 142:12), perhaps indicating that *ġazal* lyrics were commonly composed in non-quantitative popular meters to be sung.

Despite a certain ambiguity reflected in the comments of Kaykāvus about the status of *ġazal* as a thematic, formal, or performance category, a vocabulary of poetic terms can be reconstructed from the poems of the 10th-12th century A.D., and the picture which emerges is that the poets categorized poems by their mood and *topoi* rather than their formal structure. Among the preserved verse of the 3rd/10th century poets, we encounter the following terms:

¹¹⁵ Perhaps this is a reference to poetry performed outside the major courts, for example, at the bazaar. Kaykāvus was acquainted first hand with the performance milieu at the major courts, such as the Ghaznavids, where he was a boon-companion to Sultan Mowdud.

- MADH:** meaning panegyric, as the intent or theme of a poem.¹¹⁶ The existence of a *maf'ul* form, *mamduh*, meaning the person praised, or patron, used commonly in Arabic and appearing in the *Qābus-nāme* (139), indicates that *madh* is viewed as a poet's rhetorical orientation to the addressee, and not as a form.
- MADIH:** same as *madh*, but somewhat more concrete (i.e., an instance or product noun), in that a poet can speak of *madih-i*, a panegyric poem.¹¹⁷
- MEDHAT:** same as above.¹¹⁸
- HAZL:** a hapax legomenon, only understandable from this instance in a general way, and from later usage, but the meaning is generally the same as *hejā*, satire or invective.¹¹⁹
- HEJĀ:** satire, invective.¹²⁰ Occasionally *hejā* is associated with the Arab poets Jarīr and al-Farazdaq in the next century by the Ghaznavid poets.
- QAŞD:** used once in a *qaşideh* to explain the purpose of that particular poem (*soxan*).¹²¹
- FAXR:** Self-praise, or praise of the patron; Rudaki (495:101-2) glories in his love for the two little black eyes of the beloved.

GAZAL occurs twice in the poems of Rudaki, the earliest occurrences of the word in neo-Persian, which apparently refer

¹¹⁶ Daqiqi (141:2, doubtful ascription) argues that he tells the truth and does not lie in his panegyric. Šahid-e Balxi (25:15) contrasts *madh* with *hejā*, which can describe the same utterance, depending on the context, as he makes clear. Also, Rudaki (497:154, 508:438, 509:476, 512:540, and 497:155 for *maddāh*).

¹¹⁷ Daqiqi (150:67) dresses a panegyric in fine clothes, contemplates writing one panegyric for a certain patron (153:99), compares the superiority of Rudaki's *madih* to his own (156:139-40), and makes a similar comparison in a lament for Šahid (161:175).

¹¹⁸ Daqiqi (141:3) "O Amir, in praise of you my life is made short," and Rudaki (512:550), where all expressions of praise ever spoken are owed to the addressee of this poem.

¹¹⁹ Moḥammad b. Vaṣif (15:22).

¹²⁰ Šahid-e Balxi (25:15).

¹²¹ Gorgani, (*soxan*, 62:78).

to the lyrical subject matter or rhetorical orientation of the poem, as contrasted with the panegyrical orientation of *madh*:

*xodāy rā be-sotudam keh kerdegār-e man-ast
zabān-am az ġazal o madh-e handegān-š na-sud*¹²²

I gave praise unto God, who is my creator,
my tongue was not worn away by lyrics (*ġazal*)
and panegyrics (*madh*) for his servants.

*dariġ medhat-e cun dorr o ābdār ġazal
keh cāboki-š nay-āyad hami be-lafz padid*¹²³

Alas for pearly praises (*medhat*)
and juicy lyrics (*ġazal*)
which trip not lightly
off of every tongue

Daqiqi, though not actually using these terms, draws the same thematic division between panegyrical and amatory themes, the one being addressed to kings, the other to beloveds. In a long *qaṣideh* for the Amir Bu Sa'id, a patron who apparently complained of the poet's lengthy hiatus in praising him, Daqiqi puts the following entreaty in the patron's mouth:

*marā guyaḍ ze candin še'r-e šāhān
ze candin 'āšeqāneh še'r-e delbar
kam az še'r-i keh su-ye mā feresti
nay-am andar xvar-e goftār v-az dar*¹²⁴

He tells me, "from all those poems for kings
and from all those amatory poems for the
heart-stealer,
you send not one tiny poem for us?
Am I not a fitting subject, worthy of words?"

¹²² Nafisi, *Mohiṭ*, 498:184.

¹²³ *ibid.*, 500:242. The line could also be understood to mean that the poet is unable to express the patron's agility--so great it is--in verse.

¹²⁴ Lazard, *Aš'ār*, 153:95-6.

Among the poets of the 5th/11th century, we frequently encounter the word *ġazal*: Farroxi, along the lines of the above examples, opposes *ġazal* to *sanā* (encomium).¹²⁵ Farroxi also uses the word *ġazal* several times in the sense of *taġazzol*, the amatory introit to the *qaṣideh*, very often in a musical context.¹²⁶ Particularly noteworthy is the following example from the last two lines of a *qaṣideh* celebrating the end of Ramazān, in which Farroxi has already treated the theme of the beautiful *sāqi* (wine-bearer) at length:

*xvoš be-guš āyad še'r-i keh dar ān še'r bovad
medḥat-e xosrow bā na't-e rox-e hamco qamar
motrebā ān ġazal-e naġz-e delāviz biār
var na-dāni be-šnow tā ġazal-i guyam tar*¹²⁷

That poem is pleasant to the ear in which there is
praise of the monarch with admiration of
cheeks like the moon
Musician! let's have a fine, heart-pleasing ghazal
or if you know none,
listen while I compose a fresh ghazal.

Here it would appear that the *ġazal* in question is a love poem, sung and possibly also composed by the musicians. While such a ghazal might be borrowed from popular culture, it could also be composed and performed by a court poet. 'Onṣori (d. 431/1040) in two famous lines admits that his poetic

¹²⁵ *Divān-e Hakim-e Farroxi-ye Sistāni*, ed. M. Dabir-Siāqi, 4th ed., (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Zavvār, 1371/1992), 267, line 5292.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, 122:2388, 201:4018, 213:4260, 365:7377, 443:8755. It is noteworthy that several of these examples end with an invitation to the *sāqi* or the musician to say a *ġazal*, hence they would appear to be poems not derived from the *qaṣideh* in any way, but popular in origin.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 105:2028-9.

imagination does not enable him to compose ghazals in the pleasing manner of Rudaki,¹²⁸ which, judging from the paucity of *tagazzol* introits to his *qaṣidehs*, which often begin straight away with praise, could refer either to love themes, lyrical self-expression, or perhaps even, knowing that Rudaki was a musician, to poetry suitable for musical rendition. A contemporary at the Ghaznavid court, Labibi (d. after 429/1038), speaks of the value of *sarvād* (an uncommon native Persian word for poetry), a variant of the word *sorud*, or song:

degar na-xvāham goftan hami sanā vo ġazal
*keh raft yeksareh bāzār o qaymat-e sarvād*¹²⁹

I'll no longer recite encomium or lyric [ġazal]
 for poesy's market and value
 have altogether collapsed.

Faxr al-Din Gorgāni uses *ġazal* once in another context, in his *Vis o Rāmin* (c. 446/1054), a *magnavi* romance based on a Middle Persian version of a Parthian tale. This line comes towards the end of the poem in a passage in praise of the patron to whom it is dedicated, and thus preserves something of the dichotomy between panegyre and lyric. The poet describes his own work in these terms:

¹²⁸ *Divān-e Ostād 'Onṣori-ye Balxi*, M. Dabir-Siāqi, ed., 2nd ed., (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Sanā'i, 1363/1984), 327.

¹²⁹ Cited by Dehxodā in his *Loġat-nāmeḥ*, s.v. "ghazal." Also cited by M. Moṣaffā, *Pāsdārān-e soxan: cakāmeḥ sarāyān*, v. 1, (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Zavvār, 1335/1956), lxii.

dar u cun miveh az *hekmat masal-hā*
 co rayhān-e bahārī xvoš *ġazal-hā*¹³⁰

Like a fruit, within it are proverbs of wisdom
 Like the herbs of spring, fragrant lyrics (*ġazal-hā*).

Among the next generation of poets, we find 'Am'aq-e Boxārā'i (active from at least 472/1080, died 542/1148?), contrasting *ġazal* with *hazl* in a scatological flyting poem, a genre with an epideictic rhetorical attitude, addressing a public statement to society, like *madh*, only with an inverse purpose. *Ġazal* is here, by contrast, still a lyrical "I-thou" dialogue, perhaps even specifically a love theme.¹³¹

We still find the same sense about the beginning of the 6th/12th century, in the *Divān* of Mas'ud-e Sa'd Salmān (c. 440/1049-515/1121), who explains his occupation as a poet to be the composition of *ġazal* and *madh* ("*kār-am enšād kardan-e ġazal o madh*"), in a poem that also mentions the general term *še'r* and the *qaṣideh* form.¹³² An older contemporary of his,

¹³⁰ *Vis o Rāmin*, ed. S. J. Maḥjub, (Tehran: Našr-e Andišeh, 1337/1958), Chapter 105, line 105. *Sorud* and *sorud-i* also occur six times and thirteen times, respectively. These statistics are taken from a computer-generated frequency list and concordance to *Vis o Rāmin* prepared in Japan, which curiously lacks a Persian or English title page, by Emiko Okado and Kazuhiko Machida, *Persia Buganku Bunka no Data-base-ka Josei no Seikatsu to Shikou wo chushin-ni* [Database on Persian Literature and Culture with Special Reference to Women's Life and Thought], 3 vols., (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1991).

¹³¹ *Divān-e 'Am'aq-e Boxārā'i*, ed. Sa'id Nafisi, (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Foruḡi, 1339/1961), 175:509. One poem (172) has the heading "*tagazzol*," likely inserted by a later editor.

¹³² *Divān-e Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān*, ed. R. Yāsemi, 2nd ed., (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1362/1985), 396.

Abu al-Faraj Runi, also associated with the Ghaznavid court at Lahore, uses the pair in the same sense, in association with a wine symposium.¹³³

Abd al-Vāse' Jabali (d. 555/1160), feigns to be so bereaved in the text of a *marsīeh*, that his ability to compose licit praise (*madḥ*-e *mostaḥal*) or delicate ghazals (*ġazal-hā-ye laṭif*) has fled him.¹³⁴ One ten-line poem--which contains his *taxalloṣ* and looks formally very much like the classical ghazal, but is wholly devoted to panegyre (the word *madḥ* is mentioned)--he calls "a new kind of *qaṣīdeh*" (now-*qaṣīdeh'i*),¹³⁵ though he has also composed a large number of more-or-less formal ghazals,¹³⁶ probably in imitation of Sanā'i.

In most of these examples it is clear that the word *ġazal*, like *taġazzol* and *tašbib*, designates a lyrical passage usually amatory in mood or topoi. The actual form of the poetry is not in question, except perhaps in the examples of Farroxi, who has a musical setting of the lyrics, if not the

¹³³ *Divān-e Abu al-Faraj Runi*, ed. M. Mahdavi-Dāmġāni, (Mašhad: Ketābforuši-ye Bāstān, 1347/1968), 92, *huš-e to su-ye raṭl bād o qadaḥ / guš-e to su-ye madḥ bād o ġazal*.

¹³⁴ *Divān-e 'Abd al-Vāse' Jabali*, ed. D. Šafā, 2 vols., (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Tehrān, 1341/1962), 464:3.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 233. In one 17-line poem, answering the *qaṣīdeh* sent to him by another poet, he speaks of *nazm*, *qaṣīdeh*, *madiḥ*, *revāyat-e še'r* (the recitation of poetry) and even mentions *moṣāššah*, either in reference to the Andalusian form or the Persian rhetorical term (227-8).

¹³⁶ Exactly 152 by Šafa's reckoning, *ibid.*, "*ġazal-hā*," 491-598.

actual form of the poem, in mind. This topical dichotomy of love/lyric on the one hand, and panegyre/epideictic on the other, is clearly reflected in the rhetorical manuals and prose works that quote lines of poetry from the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.

The *Tārix-e Sistān* (the portion completed about 445/1053), for example, refers to the poems which it quotes as *naẓm*, *še'r*, *bayt* or *bayt-hā*. The only word for a more specific form of poetry is *robā'i*, identified once by name, but also misidentified once as *bayt*.¹³⁷ Nezāmi 'Aruzi's *Cahār maqāleh* (w. c. 552/1157) does not use the word *ġazal* according to the word list in the Qazvini-Mo'in edition. The word *qaṣideh* does appear, however, and can be said to reflect the etymological origins of the word, as the poet is trying to achieve a specific aim (*qaṣd*).¹³⁸ The *Tarjomān al-balāḡheh* of al-

¹³⁷ *Tārix-e Sistān*, ed. M. T. Bahār, op. cit. This part of the narrative apparently dates to 445/1053, the earlier portion of the history, and shows that these poems were not thought of primarily as formal types. See the poems by Moḥammad b. Vaṣif, a panegyre and a narrative in *qaṣideh* form titled and described as *še'r*, and Moḥammad b. Moxallad, introduced by the phrase "*še'r rā be-goft*" but titled as *naẓm* (210-13). These two poets are said to be the first to compose *še'r* in Persian, except for Abū Nuwās who used some Persian speech in his poetry. Vaṣif also has another panegyre described as *še'r* (253). Of course these are only partial poems (the first poem of Vaṣif is said to be a long *še'r*, 211), so the titles refer to the prosodic increments quoted (*bayt*) or to the class of verse (*še'r*), as distinct from prose (260, 286-7, 324), though even a full *qaṣideh* is called "*še'r*" (316-24).

¹³⁸ *Cahār maqāleh*, ed. M. Qazvini and M. Mo'in, (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Zavvār, 1333/1954), 52 (twice) and again on 54 (thrice) in connection with Mo'ezzi trying to emulate Rudaki's poem. Some rhetorical and prosodic techniques are also named.

Rāduyāni (w. before 507/1113), has one reference to *ġazal* listed in the index, mentioned under the category *al-tašbih al-mozdavvaj*, or the dual metaphor, which is said to occur more commonly in the *ġazal*, namely the poet comparing something of his to something of the beloved (*maḡṣud*), as in the following example:

mānā 'aḡiq nāraḡ har gez kas az yaman
*ham rang-e in serešk-e man o do labān-e to*¹³⁹

Such carnelian none can ever bring from Yemen
 of one color with my tears and with your two lips.

In Rašid al-Din Vaṭvāṭ's *Ḥadā'eq al-sehr* (c. 550/1155), the *taxalloṣ*, which will later become a technical term for the last line of the ghazal but here clearly refers to the *goriz-gāh* (literally "path of escape," a Persian calque on the Arabic *maxlaṣ*, whence *taxalloṣ*, meaning "escape," "extrication") of the *qaṣideh*, is described as the segue from the *tašbib* (which in Arabic has the same meaning the poet is ascribing to *ġazal*) or introit of the poem, to the praise of the king, which should ideally sum up what has been said and relate it somehow to the patron. Vaṭvāṭ chooses a few lines from al-Mutanabbī, 'Onṣori and Kamāli to illustrate how to do this well, and explains the art as follows:

in ṣan'at conān bovaḡ ki šā'er az ġazal yā az ma'ni-ye
digar ki še'r rā be-dān tašbib kardeh bāšaḡ be-madh-e

¹³⁹ *Tarjomān al-balāḡheh*, ed. Ahmed Ateş, 2nd ed., (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Asāṭir, 1362/1983), 53.

*mamduḥ āyaḍ be-vajh-i xubtar va ʔariq-i pasandideh tar*¹⁴⁰

This art is when the poet moves from an amatory mood (*ġazal*), or from some other theme which he has chosen for the introit (*tašbib*) of the poem, in the most pleasing and praiseworthy manner to praise for the patron.

By the time of 'Owfi's anthology, *Lobāb al-albāb* (c. 618/1221), poems are usually introduced by the title *bayt*, *nazm*, *še'r*, *qeṭ'eh*, *qaṣideh* or "ghazal." The latter three seem to be used as technical terms, applied to the forms we recognize today,¹⁴¹ though it is clear from 'Owfi's titling

¹⁴⁰ Vaṭvāṭ, *Ḥadāyeq al-seḥr fi daqāyeq al-še'r*, ed. 'Abbās Eqbāl, (Tehran: Ketābxāneh-ye Kāveh, 1308/1930), 31-2. Other passages make it clear that Vaṭvāṭ sees the *qeṭ'eh* as an independent form (28, 55, 57, 60, 64, 79), along with *qaṣideh* (30, and *qaṣāyed*, 60). The two forms are put side by side (57) as possible forms for a dual-rhyme. *Mosammaṭ* is seen as a *qaṣideh* with the added rhetorical artifice of dividing the line into four parts (*qesm*), the first three observing *saj'* and the last a rhyme. But after saying that the *mosammaṭ* has five or six parts, he then calls them rhyming hemistichs (*meṣrā'*, 61-3). Towards the end, in an addendum, he groups *madḥ/madiḥ*, *hajv/hejā* and a number of other terms which do not apparently deserve separate treatment (85-7), including *tašbib*, also known as *nasib* or *ġazal*, which he glosses as talk about the qualities of the beloved and the poet's love for her. Vaṭvāṭ makes it clear he is speaking of the opening section of the *qaṣideh*, which he says is commonly called *tašbib*, regardless of the subject matter, if it contains anything other than praise of the patron (85). He also recognizes the existence of two forms of *robā'i*, the 3 and 4-rhymed. Here he treats *tarji'* (called *nağmat*, melody) as a separate genre, and explains the strophic divisions.

¹⁴¹ M. 'Owfi, *Lobāb al-albāb*, ed. M. Qazvini and E. G. Browne, 2 vols., (London: Luzac, 1903 and 1906). In a few cases he introduces a poem of an early poet as *ġazal*, probably unaware that the word did not have the technical sense in the earlier period, but interesting in that 'Owfi already seems to project the tradition backwards. See, for example, v2:5, for the poem of Abu Šo'ayb which is a ghazal; 2:26 where a poem by Abu al-Moayyad-e Balxi of only two lines is introduced as *ġazal*. Cf. also 2:317 and 323, and the word *ġazaliāt* (354-5, 392). To poems of two early poets, Rābe'eh (2:62) and Ġazāli-

of two lines of panegyric as "ghazal" and his description of a *qaṣīdeh* containing a *tağazzol* and *madḥ* section as consisting of lines (*bayt*) of *ğazal* and *madḥ*,¹⁴² that the word "ghazal" could still connote the thematic, as well as the formal, features of a poem.

Šams-e Qays Rāzi, in the work on prosody and poetics which he began about 617/1220 but did not complete (thanks to the Mongol invasions) until about 630/1232, does explicitly distinguish the forms *qaṣīdeh*, *qeṭ'eh*, and *ghazal*. He conventionally assumes the latter two to be derivatives of the *qaṣīdeh*:

*har še'r keh maqṣur bāšad bar fonun-e 'ešqiāt az vaṣf-e zolf va xāl va hekāyat-e vaṣl va hejr va taṣavvoq be-dekr-e riāḥin va azhār va riāḥ va amṭār va vaṣf-e deman va aṭlāl ān-rā ġazal xvānand*¹⁴³

...any cut-off poem on the subject of the arts of love, like the description of tresses and beauty marks and stories about union and separation and longing for florid and aromatic fragrances and rains and the description of the ruins of encampments, is called a "ghazal."

By the early 7th/13th century, therefore, the *ghazal* was consciously recognized as an independent form, though even at

ye Marvzi (2:163), he applies the phrase *ka'b al-ğazāl*. The latter's poem is probably extracted from an epistle (*in yek ġazal az monša'āt-e u-st*), though it may also simply mean that it is "one of his compositions."

¹⁴² *ibid.* The mistitled *ğazal* is found on 2:49 and the *qaṣīdeh* in praise of Majd al-Din Ra'is of Khorasan is composed by an artifice requiring the words cypress and ruby in each line of *ğazal* and the words sun and sky in each word of panegyric: "*dar har bayt-i az ġazal sarv va yāqut lāzem dārad va dar har bayti az madḥ āftāb va āsemān*, 2:119.

¹⁴³ *al-Mo'jam*, 201.

this time the word was not applied exclusively in the formal sense, but continued to refer also to the *nasib* or *tašbib* or *tağazzol* section of a *qaṣideh*.¹⁴⁴ The *qeṭ'eh*, probably because the word was applied to Persian poetry in the same sense it was used in Arabic manuals of prosody and poetics, was clearly distinguished somewhat earlier, and references to it can be found in works from the middle of the 6th/12th century.¹⁴⁵

Naṣir al-Din Ṭusi (d. 672/1273) in his *Me'yār al-aš'ār* discusses where the rhyme words should occur in the following poetic forms: *maṣnavi*, *qeṭ'eh*, *qaṣideh*, *robā'īāt* and *mosammaṭāt-e caḥār xāneh va ġayr-e ān* (the *mosammaṭ* and four-line stanza and others). He does not, however, mention the word *ġazal*.¹⁴⁶ Tāj al-Ḥalāvi ('Alī b. Mohammad) in his *Daqāyeq al-še'r*,¹⁴⁷ probably dating to about a century after

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 413.

¹⁴⁵ e.g., assuming the poem titles were not inserted by a later copyist, see the work written by Qāzi Hamid al-Din in 551/1157, in imitation of the Arabic *maqāmāt* literature, *Maqāmāt-e Ḥamidi*, ed. Reżā Anzābi-nežād, (Tehran: Markaz-e Našr-e Dānešgāhi, 1365/1986), 42, 68, 79, etc.

¹⁴⁶ *Me'yār al-aš'ār*, op. cit., 2. If the rhyme is in other than poetry (*še'r*) it is called *saj'* (2 line 13-16). Rhyme is said to be essential feature of the *qaṣideh* and *qeṭ'eh*, though it wasn't in some Greek and pre-Islamic poetry (2). The word *qaṣideh* is mentioned several times (41, 53, 55, 56). *Še'r* occurs as the title of a quoted poem (44). The *robā'i* is defined as "...vazn-e tarāneh ast key ānrā robā'i xvānand va be-pārsi do bayti guyand (34 line 13; it is also mentioned on page 9, line 10; and 2, line 15).

¹⁴⁷ *Daqāyeq al-še'r*, op. cit.

Ṭusi, and heavily indebted to Vaṭvāṭ's manual, titles his poetic examples either by the name of the poet, by a formal term such as *qeṭ'eh*,¹⁴⁸ *robā'i* (30), or by a generic term like *nazm* (26, 27, 38), *še'r* (32, 36, 41), or *bayt* (which can also be a numerator, meaning that just one verse is quoted 37, 40). He also describes poems by content--*hazl* (34, 40) or *madh* (54, 61). Elsewhere (81), he speaks of the types of poetry and the kinds of verse (*ajnās-e še'r va anvā'-e nazm*), without, however, specifying what he means. He may have in mind any of a number of terms, beyond those already mentioned: the macaronic *molamma'*, which can include verses in Arabic, Persian, dialect (*fahlavi*) or Turkish (78); the *tarji'* (67, *gardidan-e āvāz bāšad dar galu*) identified as a technique of dividing the *qaṣideh* into a number of stanzas (*xāneh*) sharing the same meter but having separate rhymes, each of which is divided from the other by a single line (*bayt-i mofrad*); *mosammaṭ*, described etymologically in terms of ordering pearls or jewels on a string, and thus probably a more appropriate form for William Jones' famous metaphor (65); and most importantly, for our purpose, the ghazal.

Ḥalāvi begins with a typical etymology, explaining that *ġazal* originally meant the entertaining talk of girls or tales about the beloved, but in the vocabulary of the rhetoricians (*soxan šenāsān*) *ġazal* is (86): "a pleasing and refreshing diversion, through the evocation (*dekr*) of the beloved and

¹⁴⁸ *Daqāyeq al-še'r*, e.g., 23, 29, 50, etc.

description of his/her tresses and beauty mark, including tales of union and separation (*hekāyat-e vaṣl va hejr*), which is built out of a pleasant meter, an attractive form (*tarkib*) and profound meaning (*ma'ni-ye 'ariq*), devoid of recondite expressions, like the poems of Shaykh Sa'di." This passage borrows a few phrases from Šams-e Qays, but gives a fuller, more precise definition, on the basis now not only of theme and diction, but also of meter, form and meaning. And the poems (*aš'ār*, though surely he does not have either the *Bustān* or the *qaṣidehs* in mind) of Sa'di (d. 691/1292 ?) are offered as paradigmatic of the ghazal, though by the time Ḥalāvi wrote, the mystical ghazal would already be eclipsing the profane variety.

The ghazal is clearly now a formal concept, distinguished from the introduction (*moqaddemeh*) of the *qaṣideh*, which though formerly called *gāzal* or *ağzāl* (a highly unusual occurrence of the word in an Arabic plural) when amatory in theme, is now known by the term *nasib*, a term which Ḥalāvi feels he must explain (84-5). If the introductory section of the *qaṣideh*, which is designed to attract the attention of the patron and predispose him to grant the desired aim of the poet, involves either the poet's plaint over his lot in life, a description of nature or the traces of the abandoned encampment (*aṭlāl va deman*),¹⁴⁹ it is then known as *tašbib*.

¹⁴⁹ Note the shift from ancient usage, where this nostalgic topos would be part of the *nasib* (concerning which, see J. Stetkevych, "Toward an Arabic Elegiac Lexicon: The

The *nasib* and *tašbib* are contrasted to the *mamdud* or *moqtaḏab*, which is a *qaṣideh* that lacks either the *ḡazal* or *tašbib* introit, instead beginning *in medias res*. This last passage, where *ḡazal* is used in the sense he has just attributed to *nasib*, probably reflects the older usage found in his sources on prosody and poetics and the dichotomy frequently mentioned by earlier poets between *ḡazal* and *madḥ*. His terminological equation of *nasib* and *aḡzāl* probably reflects his inclination to reserve the word "ghazal" for the formal genre of Sa'di. It is worth noting, however, that *taxalloṣ* continues with its old meaning, the progression from some other theme to the *madḥ* portion of a poem (82).

Finally, Reżā Qoli Xān Hedāyat (1215/1809-1288/1871) in his *Madārej al-balāḡeh*,¹⁵⁰ which for the most part follows Rašid al-Din, and Ḥalāvi, describes *al-tarji`* and *al-tarkib-band* under separate entries as separate styles or forms (*siāq*, *ṭarz*) of poem, formerly devoted to royal panegyric but latterly used mostly for didactic, philosophical, mystical and love verse (96-7). He, of course, sees the ghazal as an independent form (105-6), and finds it necessary to explain at

Seven Words of the *Nasīb*," in *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, ed. S. Stetkevych, [Indiana University Press, 1994], 58-129). This confusion perhaps arises because the urban Persian author, who very likely has not read any pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, supposes this topos to be a landscape description rather than a reminiscence of a love tryst.

¹⁵⁰ *Madārej al-balāḡeh (dar `elm-e badi`)*, ed. Hosayn Ma'refat, (Shiraz: Ketābforuši-ye Ma'refat, 2535/1976).

length the earlier usage of the term *ġazal* in the passage on *taxalloş* (125-6):

This artifice is when the poet moves in a nice, pleasing, smooth fashion from the *ġazal*, meaning the *taġazzol* of the *qaşideh* or some other theme (*ma'ni*) with which he has opened the poem (*taşbib kardeh*), to the praise of the patron. Let it be known that in this age, that which is called *taġazzol*, the masters of old called *ġazal* and that which in these days is called *goriz* was called by those who went before *taxalloş*, but in this day *taxalloş* is the closing line of ghazals (*maqāṭe'-e ġazaliāt*).

Moayyad reads a number of poems from the tenth century A.D. by Rudaki, Šahid, Monjik, Daqiqi and Rābe'eh as ghazals, lacking only the convention of *taxallos*, and there is no plausible reason to dispute this.¹⁵¹ Clinton identifies a few of the poems in Manucehri's *Divān* as "ghazals" in our later sense of the word, as independent poems,¹⁵² and Sirus Šamisā finds two or three "ghazal-like" poems in 'Onşori's *Divān*.¹⁵³ A number of apparently independent ghazals can be seen in the *divāns* of Farroxi and Qaṭrān, and by the time of Mas'ud Sa'd and Mo'ezzi, modern editors group certain poems under the formal class of *ġazaliāt*. It is strange, though, that only a few poems of this nature should survive from poets prior to Sanā'i, whose *divān* includes over 400 such poems. The explanation for this must be sought in the performance milieu; the ghazal, as song or libretto, was not considered as

¹⁵¹ "Lyric Poetry," op. cit., 120-125.

¹⁵² J. Clinton, *The Divān of Manuchihrī Dāmghāni: A Critical Study* (Minnesota: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1972), 64.

¹⁵³ Šamisā, *Sayr-e ġazal*, op. cit., 11.

a serious genre by the earlier poets, who must not have written them down in any great number. However, it is clear, as I will argue below, that they must have composed ghazals. The reputation of a court poet was based upon his formal *qaṣīdehs*, whereas songs were something that even musicians might compose and while an important element of the poet's function at formal occasions and informal soirées, songs were not something he normally preserved. In the case of Sanā'i, who was initially not successful at winning a place among the court poets at Ghazna, writing ghazals for musicians to perform was how he made his living.

All the Text's a Stage: In Search of the Performance Context

Goṣādeh cešm be-didār-e sāqi o ma'shuq
kešideh guš be-āvāz-e moṭreb o qavvāl

Eyes trained on the sight of the Saqi and beloved
Ears fixed on the song of musician and minstrel
--Mas'ud-e Sa'd Salmān¹⁵⁴

S. Caton is particularly helpful in providing information about "the social contexts of poetic usage" for modern Arab tribespeople in Yemen and western Egypt. There is obvious danger in retrojecting from the present to the medieval period, and I do not mean to suggest that the context in which tribal poetry is now recited was exactly parallel to the urban poetry of the medieval Islamic courts. Nevertheless, the information that can be gleaned from such studies will help us to imagine the performance contexts of poetry in general, which we must endeavor to do, since the classical texts treat

¹⁵⁴ *Divān-e Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān*, 314.

of this theme only occasionally and anecdotally and provide no systematic details.

As Caton points out, tribal poetry in Yemen is usually recited on either ceremonial tribal occasions or "key historical situations tied to the personal life of the poet or to the affairs of the community":

These two kinds of contexts differ in their use of poetry. Poetic production is a norm of social action in the former but is voluntary in the latter; it is found in specific rituals in the former but is open-ended in the latter; it must be public and collective in the former but may be personal and private in the latter. All genres with the exception of the *qaṣīdah* are composed in the context of tribal ritual, of which we may distinguish at least four types: wedding celebrations, 'id festivities, tribal dispute mediations and *hajr* (ceremony of atonement).¹⁵⁵

Caton provides a wealth of first hand observation about the arrival of the guests at a groom's *samrah* or evening celebration, the ritual greetings, the places where the groom, the tribal elders and others sit; the way they dress; the musical entertainment, dancing, etc. Certain types of poetry (*bālah*) involve the response of a male chorus and certain prescribed dance steps, and require the participants to spontaneously compose verses on the spot in the appropriate manner and moment. "Each genre of performance-composed poetry has its own set of melodies on which the poetry is chanted."¹⁵⁶ Caton applies Searle's theory of "speech acts" to the poetry produced at such gatherings and rightly insists

¹⁵⁵ Caton, *Peaks of Yemen*, 65.

¹⁵⁶ Caton, *op. cit.*, 64ff, 83.

that these are "quintessentially social speech acts, among them the greeting of the members of the audience," and therefore, the "coherence or unity" of their parts or "turns" have to be understood in the context of a speech act.

Likewise, it is my contention, the genesis of the Persian ghazal as a genre must be understood in terms of its performance before an audience and its purpose within that context. J. Meisami has made similar suggestions, but develops this line of thinking in terms of persona criticism and the need to distinguish between the personal speaker and the courtly or conventional "I" in the Persian ghazal, the apparent univocality of which is deceptive.¹⁵⁷ Clinton has attempted to reconstruct the process by which an aspiring poet might have gained entrance into the Ghaznavid court circle to better understand the poet's status and function within it.¹⁵⁸ J. T. P. de Bruijn has also pointed out the distinction that must be made between poet and minstrel.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, however, the medieval sources are not concerned to tell us about the performance context of poetry, and we can

¹⁵⁷ "The Ghazal as Fiction: Implied Speakers and Implied Audience in Hafiz' Ghazals" in *Intoxication: Earthly and Heavenly*, ed. M. Glünz and J.C. Bürgel, (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991), 89-103; "Persona in medieval Persian lyric," *Comparative Criticism* 12 (1992), 125-151.

¹⁵⁸ *The Divan of Manuchihri*; and "Court Poetry."

¹⁵⁹ "Poets and Minstrels in Early Persian Literature," *Studia Iranica*, Cahier 5, *Transition Periods in Iranian history*, 1987, 15-23; and "The Transmission of Early Persian ghazals (with special reference to the Divān of Sanā'i," *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 3 (1988): 27-31.

only piece that together from often exaggerated anecdotal accounts. Building upon the suggestions and reading the medieval *taḡkereḥ* and prosodic literature, I believe we can come to a closer understanding of the specific context in which a ghazal would have been performed in the early period and, from that vantage point, better understand what and how they mean.

Essential to this understanding is the relation of the ghazal to music and singing. Although many scholars have remarked on this association,¹⁶⁰ it is usually pointed out

¹⁶⁰ Persian scholars have usually remarked upon this phenomenon in passing, without insisting on its importance. A. T. Rāzāni discusses music and poetry and some of the allusions to music in poetry (*Še'r va musiqi*, op. cit.), which may have contributed to the excellent article by J. Homā'i, in the footnotes of the ghazal section of his edition of the *Divān of Osmān-e Moxtāri* (Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjomeh va Našr-e Ketāb, 1341/1962), 569-76, a little-read poet. Sirus-e Šamisā discusses this theory in his study of the history of the ghazal genre (*Sayr-e ghazal*, 4-9 and 15-21). Šafi'i-Kadkani points to the musical nature of the ghazal in a footnote in his recent study of Anvari, *Mofles-e kimiā-foruš: naqd va taḥlil-e še'r-e Anvari* (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Soxan, 1372/1992), 128n112. The same author has a book on rhythm, rhyme and prosody (*Musiqi-ye še'r*), in which, however, he is more concerned with the psychological effect of the music of poetry than with the actual interrelations between the two. In the west Homā'i's important "marginal" article was pointed out by H. Moayyad ("Lyric Poetry," 121), who writes: "initially the ghazal was a poem to be sung and accompanied by an instrument. In this sense, it was equivalent to the qawl (song) and was used as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries;" and by Julie Meisami ("Persona in medieval Persian lyric," 142-3n2), who draws attention to Homā'i's distinction between ghazals composed to be sung and literary ghazals. As will be argued below, this distinction is not fully tenable. H.-'A. Mallāḥ has written two extremely useful dictionaries on the musical terms found in *Hāfez* and *Manucehri*, see respectively his *Hāfez va musiqi* (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Hiromand, 1351/1972) and *Manucheri Dāmḡāni va musiqi* (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Farhang va Honar, 1363), in which Homā'i's views are discussed and

and then passed over without much further attention. Since studies of troubadour and trouvère poetry have been greatly influenced by the foregrounding of the musical and performance context of such poetry over its textual form, we ought also to explore similar ramifications for the study of the Persian ghazal.

Rudaki, who at some point in life lost his sight, was a poet who accompanied himself on the lyre as he recited his own compositions. The story is told in the *Cahār maqāleh* of how Rudaki composed the famous poem "*Bu-ye ju-ye Muliān āyad hami*" (the smell of the Muliān stream overtakes me) at the prodding of the nobles in the retinue of the Samanid Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who were tired of staying in the summer quarters of Herat and wished to return to Bukhara:

The generals of the army and nobles of the kingdom went to Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Rudaki--for no one among the boon companions of the king was more honored and respected. They told him "We will provide you with 5000 dinār if you can by some artifice (*ṣan'at-i*) get the king to move on from this territory, for our hearts long for our children and we are dying to see Bukhara again." Rudaki accepted, for he had sized up the Amir and knew what made him tick [had taken his pulse and knew his constitution], and was aware that prose would be of no avail with him. He turned to verse and composed [*goft*] a *qaṣideh* and when the Amir came out for his drinking party [*ṣobuh*], came and sat down in his own spot. When the singers [*motrebān*] left off, he took up the lyre and began the following *qaṣideh* in the musical mode 'oṣṣāq....¹⁶¹

Legend has it that this poem was so moving that when Rudaki got to the seventh line:

elaborated (see especially under "*ġazal*" and "*qawl*").

¹⁶¹ Nezāmi 'Aruzi, op. cit., 51-54.

*mir sarv ast o boxārā bustān
sarv su-ye bustān āyad hami*

The Mir is the cypress and Bukhara the bower
the cypress is coming towards the bower
all the while,

the Amir leapt out of his throne, took off on his horse and set off for Bukhara without his boots and did not pull the reins till he got there, with his retinue trailing after him with his effects.

This is not the only indication of Rudaki's eloquence that hints towards the performance scene. His contemporary, Šahid-e Balxi, reputedly once said:

*be-soxan mānaḍ še`r-e šo`arā
Rudaki rā soxan-aš telv-e nabā-st
šā`erān rā xah o aḥsanta madiḥ
Rudaki rā xah o aḥsanta hejā-st¹⁶²*

The poetry of the poets resembles (fine) speech
The speech of Rudaki is second only to scripture
"Bravo" and "beautiful" are praise to the poets,
To Rudaki "bravo" and "beautiful" are insults.

These anecdotes, whether wholly factual or not, point toward the performance setting and audience interaction, and should help us to remember that the poem, often set to music, was a kind of theater. The poet, who is blind, has a specific place to sit in the drinking ceremony, as, presumably, does everyone else, including the Amir or Shah, who sits on the throne. Musicians precede the poetry performance, which is itself lyrical in the etymological sense--words accompanied by music--but music of an apparently different nature from that

¹⁶² Lazard, *Aš`ār*, 25.

of the musicians. The specific musical mode named in this case, 'oššāq, was one of the twelve primary *dastgāh* of classical Persian music in use at that time.¹⁶³ The poetry is undoubtedly sung with a varying voice register, as appropriate to the theme of the line or the section of the poem. The poem in this case was prepared beforehand--the verb used is "to say" rather than to write, (*qaṣideh be-goft*) and though Rudaki may have been blind by this time and would not have any need, therefore, to write, the verb *še'r goftan* is commonly used in Persian not only for the performance of a poem, but for the composition process. Though Rudaki could evidently sing or chant verses himself to his own accompaniment, there is at least two lines of poetry preserved in his name that would seem to indicate he also used a blind professional singer in performance at wine banquets (the Persian name of whom was perhaps either Mağ or Māj):

¹⁶³ Mallāh, *Manucehri-ye Dāmghāni va musiqi*, 226-7. 'Oššāq is nowadays considered a *guṣeh* in several different modes; see H. Farhat, *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, s.v. "Iran. I. Art Music." As with the ragas of North India, it seems that each mode was considered suitable for specific themes, moods, occasions, or times of the day; Bārbad, one of the many musicians of the court of the Sassanian Khosrow II (590-628 A.D.), is said to have developed a system of seven royal modes (*xosrovāni*), 30 derivative modes (*laḥn*), and 360 melodies (*dastān*), corresponding respectively to the number of days in the week, month and year of the Sassanian Zoroastrian calendar. The ensemble or repertoire of Persian musical modes are divided into twelve principle *dastgāh*, each including a variable number of shorter melodies, or *guṣeh*, of which there are between 300-400. Interestingly, the prosodical term *radif* (literally, "row") is used to designate this repertoire of modes. See also E. Zonis, *Classical Persian Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 14-15, 99.

*ay maj konun to še`r-e man az bar kon o be-xvān
 az man del o sagāleš az to tan o ravān
 kuri konim o bādeh xvorim o bovim šād
 buseh dehim bar do labān-e parivašān¹⁶⁴*

O Maj, now learn my poem by heart and sing it--
 From me its heart and words,
 from you its body and soul.
 Let us be blind and drink wine, be happy
 and put kisses on the two lips of the cherubs

Mas'ud Sa'd, who due to his imprisonment may have had to rely on performers to recite his *qaṣidehs* more than other poets, explicitly states more than once the name of the singer (*qavvāl*) who is performing his poetry at court. In a long panegyric for Moḥammad b. Behrūz, apparently a vizier in the Ghaznavid court at Lahore,¹⁶⁵ which the poet three times, as if needing to stress the fact, calls a *qaṣideh* (line 84, 90 and 100), Mas'ud Sa'd describes himself as the author in the penultimate line and provides the patronym of the singer--Abu al-Fath--and perhaps also his stage name--Melodies of the Nightingale--in the last line;

*be-ḥaqq keh dānad goftan conānkeh dānad goft
 sanā vo madḥ-e to Mas'ud-e Sa'd ben Salmān
 bahār gardad bazm-at co in qaṣideh-ye xvoš
 be-laḥn xvānad Abu al-Fath-e 'andalib alḥān*

It would appear from the concluding twenty lines of this *qaṣideh* that the poet was not physically present at the recitation of the poem (lines 61-6, 81) and that there may have been some confusion over the authorship of an earlier poem attributed to him (lines 83ff) which would have been in

¹⁶⁴ Nafisi, *Moḥiṭ-e zendegi*, 509.

¹⁶⁵ See de Bruijn, *OPP*, 43.

condemnation rather than in praise of this patron. Such a confusion could well have arisen as a result of the performance context in the poet's absence from court.¹⁶⁶ In a series of bawdy vignettes, Mas'ud Sa'd describes a number of other performers, all of whom were, judging from his comments, of questionable morals or at least enjoyed reputations for debauchery, as singers and musicians commonly did: Moḥammad and 'Ali the Flautists, Esfandiār the Lyrist (*cangi*), the Box-playing Kid (*Kudak-e ja'beh zan*); Zarvar the lutist; 'Osmān the singer who, like Abu al-Fath, is associated with the song of the nightingale and said to be a performer of "*qowl*"; First Lady of Song (*bānu-ye qavvāl*); Madame of the Fairies (*Pari bāni*); and Diadem of the Dancers (*Māhu-ye raqqāṣ*).¹⁶⁷ Sanā'i alludes to the fame of the musicians at the Ghaznavid court in his *Kār-nāmeḥ-ye Balx*, and describes the ribald and

¹⁶⁶ *Divān*, 397-401. Sanā'i, who collected Mas'ud Sa'd's *Divān*, refers to a similar textual problem in one of his *geṭ'eh*'s where he apologizes for having included a poem that Mas'ud Sa'd denies was his (see chapter two). It may have become politically necessary for Mas'ud Sa'd to deny authorship of a certain poem in order to extricate himself from royal disfavor. In any case, the problem of misattribution was apparently as much a concern in the medieval period as it is today for textual scholars (see chapter three). Compare Nezāmi 'Aruzi's anecdote about Farroxi's poetic suit for admittance to the court of Maḥmud, in which the minister Xvājah 'Amid As'ad does not at first believe, because of his uncouth and rustic looks, Farroxi's claim to have authored the poem he recites, and therefore demands that Farroxi compose another poem to prove that he is really capable of the art. *Cahār maqāleh*, 59. For a full translation of this famous incident, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 2:124-8 and Clinton, "Court Poetry," 80-82.

¹⁶⁷ *Divān*, 571-78.

salacious character of the performances of the *motrebān* in the royal wine parties (*bazm-e šāh*).¹⁶⁸

Indeed, brief allusions to musical context can be found throughout Persian poetry, and it may be possible to reconstruct something of the performance context from such clues. For one thing, as noted in the previous quotation, music is usually associated with wine and a symposium (*majles*) of drinkers, and is intimately linked with the themes of *tagazzol* or the escape from the sorrows of life in epicurean pleasures, as seen in 'Omar Xayyām. That the wine symposium was not always a theme for light and happy verse or song is seen in the following two lines from Firuz-e Mašreqi, another 3rd/10th century poet:

nowheh-gar kardeh zabān-e cang hazin az gam-e gol
muy bogšādeh vo bar ruy zanān nāxunā
gah qanineh be-sojud uftad az bahr-e do'ā
*gah ze gam bar feganaq yek dahan az del xunā*¹⁶⁹

The ritual mourner saddens.
 the tongue of the harp
 with grief for the rose:
 strands dishevelled
 nails plucking its face.
 Now and again the earthen jug
 falls prostrate to gurgle prayers,
 now, in grief,
 the mouth gorges
 with heart's blood.

¹⁶⁸ *Maṣnavi-hā-ye Ḥakim Sanā'i*, ed. Modarres-e Rażavi, 170-1. In this *maṣnavi* on the court at Ghazna, Sanā'i also describes the eunuchs, a number of men and women of loose morals (*ebāḥatīyān*) who appear to be connected with the Darvish or Sufis, a number of poets by name, a group of base, unkempt poets (*arādel-e šo'arā*), the royal pages (*golāmān*), the court astrologer, and a number of learned men and judges.

¹⁶⁹ Lazard, *Aš'ār*, 19.

Though the poetical and wine *majles* in which ghazals came to be recited were not the formal occasions of the victory *qaṣīdeh* or the coronation ode, they do seem to be related, in some ways, to Zoroastrian praxis and/or the ancient Iranian rituals of kingship, including the specified places, ceremonies and manners that must be observed by the poet and other nobles at court, and especially the celebration of the spring and the adventus of the king. In another 10th-century poem, one which observes all the formal features of the ghazal, including the *taxalloṣ*, Daqiqi specifically links the arrival of spring to a gathering with wine, roses and the beloved in the open mead, and to music and the Zoroastrian creed.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Lazard, *Aṣṣār*, 164-5. The four things which Daqiqi chooses in the last line of the poem are the lips of the beloved, the plaint of the harp, the rust-colored wine and the creed of Zoroaster: *Lab-e bijādeh rang o nāleh-ye cang / may-ye cun zang o kiš-e zardahošti*. His association of the practice with Zoroastrianism may be a cultural memory of the importance of poetry/music at the Sasanian courts, especially the court of Xosrow Parviz and his famous musician/poet Bārbad (for which, see Boyce, "The Parthian Gōsān," 23) and, as A. Hamori has pointed out (*On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974], 67), wine poetry and its themes in an Islamic context symbolized a kind of "institutionalized rebellion, the poet and his companions becoming a band of outsiders" (71), such that it would not be strange to associate it with Christianity or Zoroastrianism, as do Abū Nūwās and the other practitioners of the *xamrīyah*, whether or not the poet is himself actually a Zoroastrian: "Imagery with transcendental associations creates in the *khamrīya* a sense of something like a rival religion. Such a development is perhaps natural enough in a religious society, but it is ironic; for it is the end of the line for a genre that sprang from a poetic refusal to accommodate to the religious model of human experience. The wine song fosters its myth; it is never quite free of the shadow of Islam."

Nezām al-Molk in his *Siāsat-nāmeḥ* talks about the etiquette of the royal wine symposium (*majles-e šarāb*), to which sometimes general invitations should be issued and sometimes only the intimates of the king are to attend. The guests at such a symposium should not bring more than one page (*golām*) with them, nor should everyone bring his own wine-steward (*sāqi*) and flagon (*šorāḥi*), a practice which Nezām al-Molk assumes to have developed due to deficient royal hospitality, for which he implicitly chides the Seljuq rulers. In such public meetings the king should not allow his boon companions (*nadimān*) to mix with his subjects, among whom are enumerated the nobles, the army commanders, and the government officials (*'amidān-e moḥtašam*), for it would make these dignitaries impudent and result in a breach of the king's honor such that the subjects might begin ignoring his commands. With such people only serious matters of state should be discussed, whereas, with his boon-companions, the king can be familiar and at ease to joke, satirize, and tell amusing stories without fear of damaging his royal demeanor.¹⁷¹

The boon companion should not be chosen from among people who are entrusted with matters of state, for his easy familiarity with the king could lead him to take liberties in the execution of his duties that would cause harm to the

¹⁷¹ *Siāsat-nāmeḥ*, ed. Ja'far Šo'ār, 3rd ed., (Tehran: Sherekat-e Sahāmi, 1364/1984), Chapter 29, 146-7.

people. The boon companion partakes in the recreational hours of the king after the nobles have all left the court--hunting, polo, wine drinking and amorous disporting (*'ešrat va tamāšā va majles-e ons va šarāb*). Ideally the boon companion should be knowledgeable, handsome, of orthodox religion, a trustworthy confidant and well-attired. He should know entertaining stories, both polite and off-color, and be able to play chess and backgammon. The ability to play the lyre is an advantage and the candidate for the job should not contradict the king with "do this" "don't do that," but should say "bravo" and "beautiful" (as in our example of the response to Rudaki's poems) to whatever he says or does.¹⁷² Some rulers are known to have had astrologers or physicians as boon companions, and it is preferable for the boon companion to be well-travelled and experienced in serving noblemen, in the opinion of Nezām al-Molk.¹⁷³ Despite the familiarity that the boon companion is allowed to enjoy with the king, certain ceremonial etiquettes must still be observed--some should stand and some sit while in attendance, depending on their rank--for this was the practice of old. He specifically mentions that the Ghaznavid Sultans always had twenty *nadims* in attendance, ten seated and ten standing, a practice which they took over from the Samanids.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² *Siāsat-nāmeḥ*, 106-7.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*, 108.

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

If this was true for the Samanid court, then Rudaki was apparently one of the ten seated members of the royal companions, whose rank can be assumed superior to that of the standing companions. The highly codified etiquette of the Sasanian courts also involved fixed places, a curtain separating the King of Kings from his court, elaborate ceremonies and a specific etiquette of comportment followed not only by the nobles and officials in attendance at the court, but also by the musicians, who were likewise ranked and seated according to their position.¹⁷⁵ The observance of such an exacting etiquette and the occasional breach of it must have constituted a kind of theater in itself, especially when the monarch was drunk, during which time his commands, at least in the reign of Ardašēr, were recorded by two attendants for his reconsideration when sober, and held in abeyance in the meanwhile.¹⁷⁶ According to the testimony of al-Jāhiz and Mas'udī, there was a stringent hierarchy of musicians and singers at court (which was modified by Vahrām Gōr), and it was considered improper for a singer of one rank to perform with a musician of a lower rank, or vice versa, and the performers might refuse a direct order from the king to do so, if the king was drunk.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1944), 394-415.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 403.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 402-3, citing *Kitāb al-tāj* and *Murūj al-dahab*, respectively.

Although Nezām al-Molk makes no mention of poets among the boon companions at the Seljuq court, this would seem to be a deliberate omission on his part, owing to his animus against poets. In any case, the *Cahār maqāleh* makes it clear that poets were included in this category, and even that they were so well liked by Ṭogānšāh, the son of Alp Arslān and governor of Khorasan, that all of his boon companions were poets, among them the famous Azraqi and a number of lesser poets. On one occasion when the young and impetuous Shah lost at backgammon to one of these poets, he nearly drew his sword against the hapless fellow, who in any case had been trying to lose, until Azraqi arose, approaching the minstrels (meaning that he positioned himself in a specific place with respect to the governor and/or that he asked the musicians to accompany him) and improvising a quatrain on the subject of losing at backgammon, brought about a total transformation in Ṭogānšāh's disposition, such that he kissed Azraqi upon the eyes and filled his mouth with gold dinars. Nezāmi 'Aruzi concludes this vignette with the expression, "and all for a little couplet (do-bayti)!"¹⁷⁸ 'Aruzi's surprise is perhaps an allusion to the fact that he required no less than five lines of verse to prove himself to be superior to the other Nezāmis known to the guest of honor at a royal wine symposium held by one of the Ghurid Shahs. These lines were composed on the spot, to the set topic of "who is the best of the Nezāmis,"

¹⁷⁸ Nezāmi 'Aruzi, 69-71.

and were physically written down during the time it took to complete two rounds of a drinking bout. The lines received many compliments and a reward from the king and the others present.¹⁷⁹ As, however, the anecdote on Mas'ud Sa'd shows, keeping company with the wrong governor or saying the wrong thing might also precipitate a poet into prison.¹⁸⁰

In his history, Bayhaqi describes an actual instance of one of these theoretical entertainments (*majles-e šarāb*) described by Neẓām al-Molk. This particular gathering took place in a pleasure garden in Herat on the occasion of the 'id *al-fiṭr*. A formal dinner was served, during which poets recited their works, and when this part of the evening was concluded, it came time for the wine and minstrels.¹⁸¹ Elsewhere he makes clear that court entertainers like minstrels and storytellers (*mohaddes*, *naqqāl*) were just outside the palace gate in the event that Sultan Maḥmud was unable to sleep.¹⁸² On another occasion, in what sounds to

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 83-86. A similar performance context has been suggested for the Andalusian poet Ibn al-Mu'tamid, who interestingly, does not typically include a *nasīb* section in his *qaṣīdahs*, reserving the *qaṣīdah* form for *madḥ* and the shorter forms for love themes: "Most of his love and wine poetry was, no doubt, extemporaneously composed in the context of the poetic games so frequently engaged in by Andalusian aristocrats during their parties and pleasure outings," R. Scheindlin, *Form and Structure*, 133-4.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 71-73.

¹⁸¹ *Tārix-e Bayhaqi*, ed. S. Nafisi, vol. 1, 49-50. See also de Bruijn, "Poets and Minstrels", 18.

¹⁸² *Tārix*, 2:612; 1:139-40; 1:4-5, 71ff. De Bruijn calls attention to these mentions in "Poets and Minstrels," 16-17.

be an exaggeration, Bayhaqi describes a banquet held for the arrival by boat of Mas'ud I, accompanied by his own boon companions, minstrels and manservants (*golām*), in Termed, where he was greeted with music by more than three hundred musicians, dancing women and drummers on shore.¹⁸³

Among the Arabs a distinction was drawn between poet and reciter (*rāwī*, often an apprentice poet) and musician, with the *rāwī* possibly in an upwardly mobile occupation, but with the musician immutably fixed in a socially inferior class, often as a slave and usually female (*qaynah*, *qiyān*). There may have been a division between certain kinds of song and the sex of the performer,¹⁸⁴ but in the Arabic context, entertainment music was primarily the profession of girls;¹⁸⁵ though this began to change somewhat during the Umayyad period, as male performers, probably under the influence of the Persian *gōsān* tradition and the rising popularity of Persian instruments and melodies, became more prevalent. Musicians remained, however,

¹⁸³ De Bruijn, "Poets and Minstrels," 16, following Bayhaqi, 1:282-3. This scene reminds one of the command performance of Handel's "Water Music" for George I on the Thames in 1717.

¹⁸⁴ E.g., *hudā'* and *naṣb* may have been non-entertainment music performed mostly by males while *sinād* and *hazaj* were entertainment pieces performed by females. Unfortunately, we know little about what these terms mean. See O. Wright, "Music and Verse," op. cit., 435-7.

¹⁸⁵ Wright, "Music and Verse," 436-7.

in an inferior social position: most were non-Arab *mawālī* and many of them were eunuchs.¹⁸⁶

Such social distinctions appear to have been fairly rigid and, as Steven Caton points out, survive to the present day in a tribal context. In Yemen the *dōšān*, or town-crier, and the *mulahhin*, or singer, are considered to be in the servant (*xaddām*) class:

He [the *dōšān*] figures importantly in the production of tribal poetry, not as the composer of verse--for indeed he is excluded by his low status from taking part--but as a skilled musician who sings the verses of the highly prized *qasidah* before a tribal audience....He utters praises of the groom and his family at the wedding ceremony in rhythmic prose, acts as a master of ceremonies on public occasions, relays messages from village to village or enemy to enemy during times of war, and greets the returning pilgrim with pious epithets....Like all servants, the *dōšān* accepts payment for his work, either in the form of money or else as a part of the harvest of each household he serves in the village.¹⁸⁷

as for the singer:

...he may learn to play the *tabal* (drum) and even the *mizmār* (flute) and perform at the groom's wedding *samrah*, for which service he may obtain as much as two thousand Yemeni riyals (approximately \$444 in 1981). If he has a truly outstanding voice, then a poet may give him his compositions to sing, though he, not the poet, composes the melody (*lahn*). In the days before the tape recorder, verses were sent from one tribal audience to the next via the *mulahhin*, who may have memorized a hundred compositions or more; his performances were well attended and generously remunerated.¹⁸⁸

Neither the *dōšān* nor the *mulahhin* are considered noblemen of

¹⁸⁶ Wright, "Music and Verse", 438, 442-3, 446-7, and "Arab Music. I. Art Music 1-4," 515.

¹⁸⁷ Caton, *Peaks of Yemen*, 8, 54-55.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 56.

the tribe and cannot, therefore, win honor (*šaraf*) for themselves by the exercise of their profession:

There is a clear division between the poet and the *mulahhin*. The former creates the word; the latter carries it like a messenger (and is often addressed as such in *gasīdahs*)....the voice of the singer is called *ghinā*, which literally means singing. It is commonly said that only women, children and the public singer would burst into song. And I have been told that a tribesman would be afraid to publicly sing poetry to the *tabal* because such an act would shame his kinsmen, who might actually cut his throat in retaliation....Neither the town crier nor the singer may publicly compose *shi'r* (poetry, which is the exclusive privilege of tribesmen. Not even in the wedding performances do they participate. From *dōshah* and *ghinā* money can be made; *shi'r* can bring honor, and honor is possessed only by tribesmen.¹⁸⁹

If the Arabs borrowed from Persian musical practice, the Persians apparently began to emphasize the distinction between poet and minstrel. As we have seen, many of the tenth-century Persian poets were also musicians and sang or cantillated their own works to the accompaniment of the lyre or *l'ute*. The *Qābus-nāmeḥ* separates the two professions, but does not denigrate the profession of the minstrel or *xonyāgar*, since the author contemplates the possibility that his son might want to go into this line of work. In this chapter, Kaykavūs discusses the kinds of song appropriate to various types of *majles*, drawing a distinction between the *moṭreb*, who appears to be a musician-singer, and the *xonyāgar*, or singer, who is

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 56. Something of this dichotomy can be seen in contemporary Iranian and Indian society. Among middle and upper-class Iranians and Indians popular singers and musicians are often considered, as a class, to be of lower status and of questionable morals. Nevertheless, they are paid well for their services and appreciated for their abilities.

also called a *rāvi* of poetry. He advises that one should not, as a *xonyāgar*, be too fond of one's own poetry; though a *xonyāgar* clearly composes his own verse, he is seen to be mainly a singer of the poetry of others--"for the minstrels are the reciters of the poets" (*keh xonyāgar rāviān-e šā'erān-and*).¹⁹⁰ Rudaki clearly places the *rāvi* in an inferior position in one verse, where he calls Šahid and Farālāvi poets and all the others but reciters: *šā'er Šahid o šohreh Farālāvi / v-in digar be-jomleh hameh rāvi*.¹⁹¹ Other poets also mention the existence or even stage names of their reciters in a performance context, such as the following lines, by Xāqāni and Amir Mo'ezzi, respectively:

*rāvi-ye Xāqāni inak marḥabā
medḥat-e šāh-e Axsetān āxar kojāst*¹⁹²

The reciter of Xāqāni is here, welcome!
so let's have, then--
the praise for the Shah of Axsetān

*maddāḥ-e to Mo'ezzi o rāvi šekar labān
to yār-e bandegān o xodāvand yār-e to*¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Kaykāvus ebn Vošmgir, *Qābus-nāmeḥ*, 131-2.

¹⁹¹ Nafisi, *Moḥiṭ*, 531:523.

¹⁹² quoted in Mo'taman, *Še'r va adab-e fārsi*, 20.

¹⁹³ Mo'ezzi, *Divān-e Amir Mo'ezzi*, ed. 'Abbās Eqbāl, ([Tehran]: Ketābforuši-ye Eslāmieḥ, 1318/1940), 677, the last line of a seventeen-line *qaṣīdeḥ*, which, like the preceding line from Xāqāni, seems at pains to avoid confusion between the reciter and the author of the poem. "Sugar-lips" in the phrase "*va rāvi šekar-labān*" could be read either as a stage name, or metonymically, "and sugar-lipped ones are your reciters."

Your panegyrist, Mo'ezzi,
 and Sugar-lips your reciter
 You, the beloved of such servants,
 and God, your friend.

Though these panegyrics make reference to the performance context, they do not mention music, which is, however, everywhere in evidence in ghazal poetry. Indeed, we do well to remember that the Greek word *mousike* from which Perso-Arabic *mūsīqī/mūsīqār* are derived, was the art of all the Muses and originally referred to "not only the art of making sounds but also poetry and dance."¹⁹⁴

All Greek lyrical texts, both archaic and classical, were composed to be sung accompanied by instrument in front of an audience. In dramatic performances of the classical period, choral and solo singing were at least as important as dialogue and dramatic actions....Rome in the earliest phase appears closely analogous to archaic Greece. Within Rome's oral culture, all the poetic forms we know about--religious poetry, convivial songs, dramatic texts, triumphal songs, funerary lamentations--were designed to be sung with instrumental accompaniment.¹⁹⁵

Many aspects of Hellenistic culture permeated the Iranian world, and it is likely, as we have seen, that prior to Islam and even somewhat into the Islamic period, music and poetry were not considered separate arts. Indeed, this ancient association was still present, or perhaps was revived in the "songs" of the 17th-century English "Musick Feasts" held on

¹⁹⁴ G. Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, trans. Rosaria Munson, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 3.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 6.

St. Cecilia's Day, in which "words are the body: music is the soul."¹⁹⁶ As John Hollander asserts:

Like the folk balladeer's identification of the notions of 'song' and 'story,' the Greek word *mousike* designated neither a linguistic nor a tonal art, but the craft of composing song, considered as a unified entity. It is extremely difficult for a modern reader to grasp the significance of this combined concept of music-poetry, although all of western literary history has conspired to make him accept a metaphysical identification of the two.¹⁹⁷

We have already seen above an example from Farroxi of the association between the ghazal and the *moṭreb*; there are many such examples, which though not necessarily referring to the specific form of the ghazal, do mention the word in the context of a musical performance, such as the following from Nezāmi's *Xosrow vo Širin*, about a performance of the Sasanian minstrel, Nakisā:

*nakisā bar ṭariqi k-ān sanam xvāst
foru goft in ġazal dar pardeh-ye rāst
ma-xosb ay dideh-ye dowlāt zamān-i
magar az xvoš-deli yābi nešāni*¹⁹⁸

Nakisā, in the manner which that idol requested,
performed this ghazal in the key of *Rāst*:
"Sleep not, o eye of fortune, for a while,
that your heart might encounter a sign of joy..."

The poet is also associated in Persian poetry, from at least the beginnings of the Ghaznavid era, with the song of the

¹⁹⁶ J. Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 390-422. The quotation is from the poet Christopher Fishburn (397).

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 13.

¹⁹⁸ quoted in Šamisā, *Sayr-e ġazal*, 4.

nightingale, and indeed, *bolbol* becomes a fixed symbol for the poet, with the beloved as the *gol* (rose),¹⁹⁹ as in the following examples from Hāfez:

bolbol az fayẓ-e gol āmuxt soxan var nah na-bud
*in hameh qowl o ġazal ta'biyeh dar menqār-aš*²⁰⁰

The nightingale learned his speech
 from the bounties of the rose;
 else there would never be
 such ornamented songs and poems
 in his beak

har morġ be-dastāni dar golšan-e šāh āyad
*bolbol beh navāsāzi Hāfez beh do'ā-gu'i*²⁰¹

Every bird comes into the rose bower of the King
 with one song or another:
 The nightingale to sing his air,
 Hāfez to say his prayers.

Qowl or Ġazal/Songs or Poems?

There are several Persian popular verse forms that do not fit the quantitative meters described by Xalīl b. Aḥmad and the Persian prosodists who adapted them to Persian. Šams-e Qays fiddles with these non-conforming forms for several pages before deciding that the best post-Xalīli form is the *robā'i* or *tarāneh*, which is so moving as to make those who know

¹⁹⁹ For the numerous examples of bird as singer and poet as bird, see Mallāḥ, *Hāfez va musiqi*. 'Owfi, in the introduction to *Lobāb al-albāb*, describes the poet as a *bolbol*, 1:1.

²⁰⁰ *Divān-e Hāfez*, *Xvājeh Šams al-Din Moḥammad*, ed. P. N. Xānlāri, 2nd ed., (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Xvārazmi, 1362/1983), 560:4.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*, 486:8. Note that a manuscript variant gives *ġazal-gu'i* (to recite ghazals) for *do'ā-gu'i* (to recite prayers).

nothing of rhythm to dance and those unquick hearts which cannot tell the difference between the melody of music and the braying of donkeys to offer up their lives:

Such poems are set to music and when the verses (*abyāt*) are in Arabic, it is called *qawl* and when the piece is in Persian (*moqaṭṭe'āt-e pārsi*), it is known as "ghazal." The knowledgeable call the sung verses of this meter *tarāneh* and those that are purely poetry are referred to as *do-bayti*, because it is built out of not more than two bayts. They call the Arabicized form of it *robā'i*, because the meter *hazaj* in Arabic poetry is composed of four feet, so that each bayt of this (*robā'i*) meter is equal to two Arabic bayts.²⁰²

'Abd al-Qāder al-Marāḡi (757/1356-838/1435) confirms this nomenclature in his description of the musical piece, *nawbat*, a suite of four movements in contrasting styles (the Arabic term "*nawbah*" perhaps derives from the seating arrangement and playing order of musicians at the Abbasid court),²⁰³ called the first and fourth movement, both of which are settings of Arabic verse, *qawl* and *foru-dāšt*, respectively; the second movement, which is a setting of Persian poetry, was referred to as *ḡazal*, and the third movement, which could be in either language but necessarily in the *robā'i* meter, was called *tarāneh*.²⁰⁴ 'Ali b. Moḥammad al-Me'mār Banā'i, writing in 888/1483, confirms the categories mentioned by 'Abd al-Qāder

²⁰² Šams-e Qays Rāzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 114-5.

²⁰³ Wright, "Arabic Music," 520.

²⁰⁴ 'Abd al-Qāder ben Ḡaybi al-Ḥāfez al-Marāḡi, *Jāme' al-alḥān*, ed. Taqi Bineš, (Tehran: Mo'asseseh-ye Moṭāle'āt va Taḥqīqāt-e Farhangī, 1366/1987), 241-47. 'Abd al-Qāder also speaks here of a fifth movement, the *mostazād*, which was intended as a kind of summation of the preceeding music and lyrics (243).

Marāġi and details seventeen types of musically accompanied poetic texts (*laḥn mowzun....maqrūn be-še`r*), including *qowl*, *ġazal*, and *qowl-e moraṣṣa`*, which he defines as a macaronic Arabic/Persian verse set to music ([*laḥn-i*] *bovad keh maqrūn be-še`r-e fārsi va `arabi bovad*).²⁰⁵ Mallāḥ maintains that for the Persian poetic *ghazal*, the same distinction holds true; that they were often composed in macaronic form, with the Arabic verses known as *qowl* and the Persian as *ghazal*, such that the two terms became part of a single phrase.²⁰⁶

Musical scholars refined Šams-e Qays' divisions to reflect that all of the above terms are varieties of the *taṣnif*, or song, with *qowl* pertaining to Arabic lyrics, *ghazal* to Persian lyrics, and *tarāneh* to lyrics in the *robā'i* meter.²⁰⁷ The *taṣnif* in contemporary prosodic and musical usage is a poem that is partly based on the classical quantitative meters and partly also on stress accents or non-classical quantities. Some literary *ghazals* can be performed set to *taṣnif* music, which follows a measured periodic rhythm, unlike the *āvāz* movement, which is a non-periodized,

²⁰⁵ 'Ali b. Moḥammad Me'mār Banā'i, *Resāleh dar musiqi*, ed. Naṣr Allāh Purjavādi, (Tehran: Markaz-e Naṣr-e Dānešgāhi, 1365/1986), 125-8. The author also quotes the above line from *Hāfez bolbol az fayz-e gol āmuxt soxan....* in his text (4), and mentions singers (*moġanniān*) performing *qowl o ġazal* (1).

²⁰⁶ *Hāfez va musiqi*, 166-75 and 284-291. For more on the recitation and musical tradition of *ghazals*, see Chapter Three.

²⁰⁷ 'Abd al-Qāder Marāġi, *Maqāṣed al-alḥān*, ed. Taqi Bineš (Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjomeh va Naṣr-e Ketāb, 1344/1965), 103. See also Mallāḥ, 166-7.

uncadenced, instrumentally accompanied plainchant or a *recitativo obbligato*, allowing the singer to extemporaneously harmonize the quantitative meters of the poetic text more fluidly into the song (including the quasi-yodelling embellishment of the *taḥrir*). Most of the lyrics for the *taṣnif*, however, are taken from pieces written especially for the form. During the Constitutional Revolution, these were important in spreading political ideology, but normally the preferred topoi are those of courtly unrequited love. A modern performance of traditional Iranian music typically consists of one or more instrumental sections, followed by a vocal text, usually from the ghazals of *Hāfez*, Rumi, Sa'di or 'Aṭṭār sung to an unmeasured musical accompaniment; followed by a *taṣnif*, with a different melody and instrumentation, and a different text, set to a strong beat. It seems clear that though the literary ghazal may have been performed without musical accompaniment, it also remained an essential part of the musical performance.

As Wright points out for the Umayyad period:

There is no doubt that a number of love poems (or fragments of them) first became popular in song form. Consequently, it can well be imagined that a fledgling poet might have concentrated on love poetry in order to attract the attention of well-known singers and thereby gain a wider audience for his verse. But poets with an established reputation would not have felt such pressure, so that in their case a predilection for love poetry cannot have been dictated--although it may have been encouraged--by the preferences of the singer. A further complicating factor concerns the expectations and demands of the singer's audience, literary as well as musical; to what extent, in short, may it be assumed that the singer

was the arbiter of public taste rather than its servant?²⁰⁸

This remained true in much later periods, especially in the Persian ghazal tradition, as attested in Forṣat al-Dowleh's *Bohur al-alḥān*, a manual for musicians from the Qajar period (completed Jomādā I 1332/ April 1914) which consists primarily of ghazal texts with instructions on the appropriate occasions and accompanying musical modes for singing the poems.²⁰⁹

The Ghazal Milieu and the Need for *Taxalloṣ*

Though we find in modern editions of Persian *divāns* poems classed as *ḡazaliyāt* before Sanā'i (d. 525/1131), they are relatively few and generally do not conform to the later notion of what a ghazal should be.²¹⁰ This, and the fact that Sanā'i is the first poet to include his *taxalloṣ* in a great number of the poems, has won for him the status of

²⁰⁸ "Music and Verse," 448.

²⁰⁹ *Bohur al-alḥān dar 'elm-e musiqi va nesbat-e ān bā 'aruzi*, ed. Moḥammad Qāsem Ṣāleḥ Rāmsari, (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Foruḡi, 1367/1988).

²¹⁰ That is, they are often wholly panegyric poems and lacking the *taxalloṣ*. The *divāns* of Mas'ud Sa'd and Amir Mo'ezzi, who both died during the lifetime of Sanā'i, have, respectively, approximately 20 and 60 poems so categorized. The younger contemporaries of Sanā'i, such as Sayyed Aṣraf, has 83 and Jabali, 150. All these poets have a much greater body of poetry in their *qasidehs* than in their ghazals, but in the case of Sanā'i, there are actually far more ghazals than *qasidehs* (408 to 312 according to the divisions given in the *Divān*, but there are literally dozens of ghazals that have been included in the *qasideh* section, such that one can claim for Sanā'i about 450 ghazal-like poems and about 275 *qasideh*-like poems).

grandfather of the ghazal,²¹¹ and scholars have been perplexed ever since about why a poet of such a strong homiletic, ascetic and mystical bent would have so much profane poetry. Prior to de Bruijn, most scholars opted for the legendary story that Sanā'i composed his erotica as a young man and then renounced it after a conversion to the mystic path, but this has been proved incorrect. Sanā'i wrote a variety of poems throughout his lifetime for a courtly audience, including kings, generals and viziers; for judges and preachers; and for Sufi leaders and novices. In the early part of his career, Sanā'i was frustrated from his hope of entering the court of Mas'ud III (492/1099-508/1115), and went among the lesser notables in search of a permanent patron, which, judging from his frequent references to his lack of appropriate attire, his poverty and his sense of rejection, he apparently failed to find.

Sanā'i mentions in his letters two performers known as "the Spider of Paradise" (*'Ankabut-e Behešt*) and the Deft Warp

²¹¹ Zahrā Xānlari, *Nemuneh-ye ġazal-e fārsi*, (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1343/1963), 2, argues that Sanā'i must be recognized as the "father of the ghazal," since the style which he initiated eventually became the characteristic style of the ghazal, such that all Persian ghazals flow originally from the fount of Sanā'i. Though her account is somewhat strongly stated, a great number of other commentators have expressed similar views about Sanā'i's status as founder of the ghazal, e.g., Šafi'i-Kadkani recognizes Sanā'i as the first poet to raise the amatory and mystical ghazal to an elevated station (*Mofles-e kimiā-foruš*, 56). His use of the word *ġazal* appears to confuse somewhat the ghazal form with the ghazal as a subject matter or motif, unless he means to say that Farroxi and Manucehri were practicing the ghazal as a form (55).

and Wefter (*Hāyek-e Cābok*). In a *qeṭʿeh* for the *qavvāl*, Jamāl al-Moʿāšerin (the Beauty of the Convivial), who is temporarily laid up in bed with gout, he sends his best wishes for a speedy recovery and praises the singer's performing ability. In all three references, he conveys his greetings to the performer and explicitly states that he has provided each of them with songbooks or albums (*daftar*) to perform.²¹²

Most poets may have done this as a matter of course, especially if they were at court, because they would be paid by the king to do so, though their fame would rest primarily upon their *qasidehs*, offered on ceremonial state occasions. Furthermore, because court poets were often present at the royal soirees where their *ghazals* would be sung, they would be able to make clear that it was their own. Indeed, it seems to me that the strophic poems, the *tarjiʿ-band* and *tarkib-band*, which for many poets (like Qaṭrān of Tabriz) consist of seven or more *ghazals* tied together by a recurring line with the patron's name, must be songbooks sent to royal musicians, intended to be performed separately or perhaps by a chorus, rather than in a single recitation.

In any case, poets from outside the court who were unknown to the ruler could not hope to be well rewarded for their

²¹² *Makātib-e Sanāʿi*, ed. Nadir Aḥmad, (Aligarh: Dānešgāh-e Eslāmi, 1962), 26-7 and 35-6 and *Divān-e Ḥakim Abu al-Majd Majdud ebn Ādam Sanāʿi-ye Gaznavi*, ed. M.T. Modarres-e Rażavi, 2nd ed., (Tehran: Ketābxāneh-ye Sanāʿi, 1362), 1089-1090, in the *qeṭʿeh* titled "*Andar madḥ-e Jamāl al-Moʿāšerin Bu Bakr-e Qavvāl*." See Chapter Two for further details about this poem.

ghazals. The payment evidently came directly from the *qavvāl*, himself dependent on the king. Indeed, we find *Zahir-e Fāryābi* (d. 598/1202), about two generations after *Sanā'i*, complaining that though the ghazal is the best verse form, there is not enough money in it to make a living.²¹³ *Sanā'i*, whose ghazals were surely performed in his absence, hoped to gain fame and win a spot at the court of the patrons for whose soirées his songs were composed. Therefore, he stuck his name on the end of many of them, by virtue of necessity. As he gradually became famous outside of the Ghaznavid court, other poets saw that a poet could put a signature line on his verses and win glory not only for his *qaṣīdehs*, but also for ghazals, which had heretofore probably been considered as a secondary or lighter form by more established court poets.

As the ghazal gained recognition as a form of shorter poem, with the *taxalloṣ* in the last or the first line, it could then be applied to themes other than *tağazzol*. Indeed, *Sanā'i* uses it for Sufi initiation rites and catechisms. As poets begin to create poetry outside the court milieu, the shorter form of the ghazal displaces the ceremonial *qaṣīdeh* and is put to mystical, religious, amatory, entertainment, philosophical and panegyric purpose. Ghazals on all these various themes can be found in the *Divān* of *Sanā'i*, but the succeeding generations of poets tended to separate out the various *topoi* of *Sanā'i*'s

²¹³ cited in M. Moṣaffā, *Pāsdārān-e soxan*, lxii-lxiii. Quoting from *Fāryābi's Divān*, 100. See below (p. 105).

poems (especially the mystical and the amatory) and restrict or specialize their own output of ghazals to only one of these categories, thus developing different sub-genres of ghazals.

Enacting the Text

In a context where the poems are performed with music and poets are asked to extemporize upon themes arising from specific incidents at a highly structured court environment, it is obvious that the mode of recitation, the accompanying gestures, the modulation of the voice, etcetera, would constitute a visual and situational complement to the surface meaning of the texts.²¹⁴ Indeed, the textual alteration that performance entails remains an important component of the theatre and poetry recitation tradition even in our own highly

²¹⁴ Impromptu ability to compose was highly valorized, as in as the examples from Persian poets alluded to above show. It was also considered highly praiseworthy by the Umayyad and Abbasid Arab poets, such as al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza, al-Farazdaq and Abū Nūwās, as well. Jamal Eddine Bencheikh, *Poétique Arabe: essai sur les voies d'une creation* (Paris: Edition Anthropos, 1975), 68.

textualized age.²¹⁵ What E. Zonis argues for Persian music is also true of Persian poetry:

Classical Persian music is improvised, the musician being at once performer and composer. Hence, each performance of the same *dastgah*, even by the same performer, is expected to be different. In performances where the player is before a small group of friends, the improvisation is partially controlled by glances and verbal suggestions between the performer and his audience. Because of this subtle communication the mood of the listeners determines the character and often the form of the player's improvisation.²¹⁶

Indeed, a recent example shows how important such a context can be. Iran's best known classical singer, Moḥammad Reżā Šajariān, in 1986 recorded a performance of the famous poem by Hāfez "*yāri andar kas nemi-binim yārān rā ceh šod*," a lament

²¹⁵ Compare the boisterous and candidly responsive audiences for Shakespeare performances in 19th century America, as detailed by L. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988). Contemporizing the settings and costumes of Shakespeare, and even in some few productions his language, has become a standard feature of the Shakespeare repertoire, as has the deletion of "unnecessary" scenes when adapting the plays to the cinematic format, with its different strengths and weaknesses from the stage. As for poetry recitation, the contemporary Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Galway Kinnell has observed, "I have changed a poem as a result of reading. Even before the line comes up, I begin to sense, 'This is rotten line of poetry.' In the presence of all those others and the possibility of public shame, I may skip right over it and salvage it later." Quoted in the New York Times, December 3, 1984, "Upsurge in Poetry and Prose Readings by Writers."

²¹⁶ *Classical Persian Music*, 14. C.f. Brian Silver, "The Adab of Musicians," in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Metcalf, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 315-29, who shows that North Indian musicians tailor each specific performance, including the choice of what to play and how much of their skill to display, according to the sophistication of the audience, the composition of which the musician is highly aware, and its response during the performance.

on the loss of friendship and civility, and very likely a political commentary when Hāfez first composed it. It includes the famous line:

*šahr-e yārān bud o xāk-e mehrbānān in diār
mehrbāni kay sar āmad, šahriārān rā ceh šod*²¹⁷

This realm was the city of friendship
and the land of kindness:
When did simple kindness come to an end,
what has happened to the royalty?

This, particularly by the plaintive way he sang it, was understood by everyone but the Islamic Republic's censors as a clear statement of preference for the overthrown monarchy.²¹⁸ Šajariān, who around the time when Mohammad Reza Shah was deposed, had been performing some very impassioned and innovative songs of a nationalist and revolutionary cast, chose for this performance to sing Hāfez' poem in a little-used melody (*gušeh*, one of the subdivisions of the *dastgāh*, or mode) of the classical repertoire by the name "*bi-dād*" or "injustice." The tape reportedly sold over eight million copies in a land of 55 million people before it

²¹⁷ *Divān-e Hāfez*, 344.

²¹⁸ There is some ambiguity as to whether the second hemistich is to be read as *šahr-e yārān ceh šod*, which would be a repetition of the phrase, "what has befallen the city of the friends" of the first hemistich, or as *šahriārān ceh šod*, "what has befallen the monarchs?" The orthography in either case is basically the same, particularly in the manuscript tradition, though one might expect the "r" and "i/y" of a modern edition to be typeset in somewhat closer proximity in the latter than in the former case. The pronunciation can be fudged so as to make the difference between the two negligible, thus affording the performer and perhaps originally also Hāfez, an excuse for the authorities.

was finally banned.²¹⁹ Lest we conclude that this is a modern invention, possible only in a mass culture context, the same kind of extra-textual allusions are made in a song performed by a poet-jongleur (*gōsān-e navāgar*) before king Mōbad in Faxr al-Din Gorgāni's *Vis o Rāmin*. In this song, the *gōsān* (who apparently composed lyrics without recourse to writing)²²⁰ refers allegorically to the fact that the king's brother was carrying on an illicit affair with the queen.²²¹ Indeed, based upon the Parthian origins of the *Vis o Rāmin* story and the linguistic evidence, it seems that this tradition of creating a specific meaning for conventional tropes and motifs in a given performance context is quite antique,²²² as is only to be expected. One might also recall Hamlet's ploy to unmask his uncle's regicide by means of an allegorical play performed at the court.

If we think about Persian poetry as a product of such a

²¹⁹ The tape was distributed in the U.S. under the title "Bi-dād" by C&G Audio, Northridge, California. Sony was the distributor in Iran.

²²⁰ Boyce (ibid, 17-18) calls the *gōsān* an "entertainer of king and commoner, privileged at court and popular with the people; present at the graveside and at the feast; eulogist, satirist, story-teller, musician; recorder of past achievements, and commentator of his own times."

²²¹ Note that Bārbad, the poet-jongleur of the Sasanian king, Xosrow Parviz, often composed, at least according to the legends, allegorical poems to break bad news to the king. Boyce, "Parthian Gōsān," 24.

²²² ibid., 19ff, where Boyce traces such traditions back at least to the Arsacid and perhaps even the Achaemenid era.

performance context, undoubtedly our trepidations about whether the poems are organically grown and unified may be seen to be a textually over-determined angst. The individual performance setting doubtless helped to create the meaning which attached to the conventional symbols and motifs of the genre, and explains in part why virtually the same language could be applied to subjects royal, profane or mystical.²²³ Paul Zumthor's concept of *mouvance* (variously translated as variability, mutability, instability) as applied to troubador poetry can also be applied to Persian poetry, particularly in the case of ghazals, which were frequently not tied to a specific court or ritual occasion by subject matter, and were short and popular enough to be repeated many times by the poet himself as well as his reciters and other performers who heard and liked a particular rendition. Therefore, multiple authorial renditions would be normative, as would variations arising from multiple performances by reciters and singers. The search for an *Urtext* in the ghazal context may, therefore, be somewhat misplaced.

²²³ L. Kendrick, *The Game of Love: Troubador Wordplay* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988), 157, points out that choirboys in medieval Europe might apply the language of the Canticles on festive occasions to the girls of the town. "The meaning of 'Deus amet puellam,' of 'Iam dulcis amica,' and of a host of other love songs using the language of the Canticles depended entirely on who performed them, in what context and how."

Ġazal as a Formal Term

Xāqāni (b. c. 520/1126, d. no later than 595/1199 and possibly as early as 582/1186), who is concerned with poetic style and innovation, and considers himself in some respects a follower of Sanā'i, frequently speaks of his poems having a new style, *šiveh-ye tāzeh* and *še'r-e badi'*.²²⁴ He mentions the "*qaṣideh*"s of 'Onṣori in one poem²²⁵ and in a poem with the *radif* "'Onṣori," compares his new special style to the old style of the earlier poet, who died more than a century and a half prior. In this poem, he discusses the various styles of poetry, pointing out that 'Onṣori only tried his hand at *madḥ* and *ġazal* (*joz az ʔarż-e madḥ o ʔarāz-e ġazal/ na-kardi ze ʔab' emteḥān 'Onṣori*), and that in *madḥ o ġazal*, Xāqāni is considered superior to 'Onṣori by the cognoscenti (*šenāsand afāzel keh cun man na-bud/ beh madḥ o ġazal dor-fešān 'Onṣori*). Not only that, Xāqāni goes on to note that he has adorned the body of poetry with various styles (*šiveh*) of poetry, including *va'z* and *zohd*, of which 'Onṣori was ignorant. Therefore, the terms *madḥ* and *ġazal* must still be seen as content-related and not referring to formal features of the poem.

²²⁴ cited by S. J. Maḥjub, *Sabk-e Xorāsāni*, (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Ferdows, n.d. [1st ed. by Sāzmān-e Tarbiat-e Mo'allem va Taḥqiqāt-e Tarbiati, 1967]), 20, as found in Xāqāni's *Divān*, ed. 'Abd al-Rasuli, 199, 213, 263, 345.

²²⁵ *Divān*, 582.

With Zahir-e Fāryābi (d. 598/1202) a contemporary of Xāqāni, however, we find an allusion which suggests he recognized the ghazal as a separate form with a separate performance occasion. In this passage, he speaks of learning various kinds of poetry and complains that people do not properly acknowledge his due in this regard. Finally, he says that the best genre (*jens*) of poetry is the ghazal, but that one cannot make money with it:

*kamineh pāyeh-ye man šā`erist xod be-ngar
keh cand guneh kešidam ze dast-e u bidād
be-piš-e har keh az-u yād mi-konam harf-i
ne-mi-konad pas az ān tā tavānad az man yād
ze še`r jens-e ġazal behtar ast o ān-ham nist
bažā`ati keh tavān sāxtan az ān bonyād²²⁶*

Zahir was a practitioner of court poetry in western Iran and also has a number of what we view in hindsight as very fine ghazals. He is probably complaining here that the money one can receive from a qavvāl or some lesser patron for a ghazal is not comparable to what one can get for a *qaṣīdeh* at the court.

Ḍ. Safā points out that by the Safavid period the great bulk of poetry being written were ghazals in the formal sense, no longer predominantly on love themes, but also treating the themes of mysticism and practical ethics.²²⁷ Though some poets had been using the ghazal format for mystical and religious themes for at least two centuries, Ṣafā is of the

²²⁶ Moṣaffā, op. cit., quoting from Fāryābi's Divān, 100.

²²⁷ Ṣafā, *Tārix-e adabiāt*, 5/1: 603-4, where he cites poems of Kalim-e Kāšāni, Ṣā`eb and Ġani.

opinion that in the 8th-10th/14th-16th centuries, only poets who really knew their trade were including such topics, whereas the amateur poets were all practicing the amatory ghazal, making the lover become ever more ill and wretched than before.²²⁸ In the 7th/13th century Şafā sees the ghazal developing in two different directions: the love ghazal exemplified by Sa'di, in the tradition of Rudaki, Zahir, Mojir and Kamāl Esmā'il; with the mystic, following 'Aṭṭār, exemplified by 'Erāqi, Rumi and Sayf al-Din Farḡāni.²²⁹ He sees both forms eventually mingling somewhat, especially in Xvāju-ye Kermāni, Kamāl-e Xojandi, 'Emād, Amir Xosrow and Hāfez.

Thus, beginning with the formal characteristic of including one's signature, or *taxalloṣ*, in shorter poems on a variety of themes, such as those found in the *Divān* of Sanā'i, poets separate out the various topoi--the mystical, the religious, the amatory--and develop them in different directions, until finally, in Hāfez and his contemporaries, these disparate strains began to harmonize once again. By this time the evolution has come full-circle: *ghazal* has lost its original meaning--an amatory, as opposed to a panegyric (madḥ) mode or theme--and is now considered a fixed form of its own that can treat of a range of themes in various modes. Certainly by the Timurid and Safavid periods, if not during the Mongol

²²⁸ Şafā, *Tārix-e adabiāt*, 4:188-9.

²²⁹ Şafā, *Tārix-e adabiāt*, 3/1: 320-323.

period and even earlier, the ghazal is recognized as a genre of its own, with a pre-determined limit as to length, but little restriction as to theme.²³⁰

In some of the later ghazals from Hāfez' time and even before, one can find allusions in several lines of a single poem to different predecessor poems. Thus, the sense of a genre history or a "textual community"²³¹ that both the poet and audience share allows the poet to thread various pearls on a single string, not at random, as "Oriental" Jones would have us believe, but in a dialogic way. This is not very different from the way modern films quote from recent and even early film history, especially within a given genre, such as film

²³⁰ See Paul Losenky, "'Welcoming Fighānī:' Imitation, Influence and Literary Change in the Persian Ghazal, 1480-1680," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1993) 139-148, who outlines the spread of the ghazal "genre" among the bourgeoisie (including non-professional composers) in Timurid and Safavid times.

²³¹ See Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, chapter I, "the Oral and the Written," especially 11-15, 50ff on ritual and 79ff on literature. I take the Persian ghazal milieu to be similar to what he describes as orality within literacy. Stock argues (522): "From reading, dialogue, and the absorption of texts, therefore, it is a short step to 'textual communities,' that is to groups of people whose social activities are centered around texts, or more precisely, around a literate interpreter of them. The text in question need not be written down nor the majority of auditors actually literate. The *interpres* may relate it verbally, as did the medieval preacher. It may be lengthy...but normally it is short enough that its essentials can be easily understood and remembered....Moreover, the group's members must associate voluntarily; their interaction must take place around an agreed meaning for the text. Above all, they must make the hermeneutic leap from what the text says to what they think it means; the common understanding provides the foundation for changing thought and behavior."

noir and the screwball comedy and the musical, or the way in which jazz and popular song allude to riffs, rhythms and lyrics of other artists.²³² Without a knowledge of Sergei Eisenstein, certain scenes in Woody Allen's earlier films might seem disjointed and totally pointless and in contemporary popular music, the Grandmaster D.J., who remixes bits and pieces of the actual recordings of his musical idols to form his own "songs," would leave the listener unaware of the history of rock and soul music in totally baffled cacophony. The Persian ghazal was obviously conceived for a given textual community and assumed a literate audience that would recognize and appreciate its inter-textual allusions, to the point that a successful ghazal in a frequently worked meter and *radif* would constitute a kind of genre of its own, and the audience would come to the poem viewing it within the proscenium arch of their own knowledge from written texts of the past masters and their own aural experience of other contemporary poets, expecting to hear the echoes of the past in new renditions.

Furthermore, the musical setting of the poems and the manner of recitation would obviously give further contextual clues to the understanding of the poems. My assumption is

²³² Consider, as one example of many, the borrowing of a Chuck Berry riff from "Johnny B. Goode" by the Beach Boys for "Fun, Fun, Fun," or the Beatles use of the phraseology and harmonies of the Beach Boys' "California Girls" in their "Back in the U.S.S.R."

that the *majāles*²³³ in which the Persian ghazal was performed was, like a theatrical performance, a meshing of the oral and textual spheres in which meaning sometimes arose from gesture; from the direction faced by the performer, from the presence of both reciter/singer and poet, who may take turns rendering various lines; from musical cues; and from a shared performance history, in which actual members of the audience, such as those serving wine to the guests, and other features of the *hors de texte* are embodied in the text, becoming themselves somehow "intertextual" and giving shape to the semiotics of the poem in ways both serious and humorous, that emphasize and make poignant or even undercut the surface meaning of a poetic text.²³⁴ Of course, when we read the

²³³ The word *majles*, pl. *majāles*, covers a wide variety of meetings in Iran, from the sessions and the actual entity of the Senate (*Majles-e showrā*) to a reception for a visitor, a religious prayer meeting, to a wine party (*majles-e šarāb*). Etymologically, it is simply "a sitting" (from Arabic *jalasa* / *yajlisu*, to sit) and as such is logically (as if by deep linguistic structure, though it is doubtful that any historical or cultural influence from the Roman cultural sphere is involved) related to the English word "session" (from Latin *sedere*, "to sit"). In classical times *majles* was applied to gatherings of many types, including literary recitations, religious homilies, scholarly addresses, wine parties and Sufi circles. One might choose to translate *majles* as *soirée* [though they were not necessarily in the evening], *salon*, *entertainment*, *divertissement*, *lecture*, *gathering*, etc., depending on the specific context. G. French, in his translation from Danish of J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 21, suggests "concourse."

²³⁴ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 181-2, shows that a live audience is necessary to complete the meaning of certain ethical texts in medieval Europe. Also relevant are her views (170ff) about the two modes of silent and audible reading which, she argues existed both in antiquity and

text later, silently, without any clue as to the performance setting, we are likely to react to it somewhat differently from the original intended audience and to view certain aspects of the text as problematic which were not necessarily so in the rendition.

In such a setting, questions of an *Urtext* for poems of Hāfez, for example, can be (dis)solved by the theory of *mouvance* as developed by Paul Zumthor for troubador poetry. The manuscripts give widely ranging variants not only in specific words, but in the order of the lines, reflecting not solely a corrupt scribal tradition, but a multiple performance tradition. Furthermore, many obscure points, such as the here-to-fore apparently meandering shift from 2nd to 3rd person in the address of the beloved and from the 1st to 3rd person in the poetic persona, can be viewed in terms of gestures and positions of the reciter in his rendition of the poem. There are also likely specific details about performers and poets of which the contemporary audience was aware, but

medieval Europe, and which she compares to the Augustinian dichotomy between *lectio* and *meditatio*. Concomitant to such modes of reading is the concept of quotation or knowing a text by heart. According to Harris (*Ancient Literacy*, 32) "during most of antiquity one was considered to know a text by heart even if, by modern standards, one's memory of it was inexact; so much we might infer from the inexactness of ancient methods of quotation." Dennis Tedlock, "Toward an Oral Poetics," *New Literary History*, 8 [1977]:507, quoted by Rifaterre, "The Mind's Eye" in *The New Medievalism*, ed. M. Brownlee, et. al., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 30, distinguishes memory from memorization in the following terms: "The narrators in primary oral cultures...do not memorize stories, but *remember* them."

which we are unlikely to recover; the well-known ambiguity of certain topoi, such as the intertwining of the diction of lover and mystic, may require Straussian (Leo not Levi) readings, based in large measure upon our judgement of what textual community for which the poem was performed. However, by reading the poems not as textual but as audio-visual entities, much the way that a music score must be read and brought to life by a composer, or a Shakespeare play must be interpreted by the actors, we will understand better what they might have meant.

The ghazal, then, should be seen not as a mere text, but through a proscenium arch as a textual representation of a performance occurring in a specific context drawing on a nexus of genres and expectations, themselves in flux. With such an understanding a number of the difficulties that have perplexed us can be satisfactorily untangled. Because Sanā'i of Ghazna (d. 525/1131) is the earliest poet who produced a large body of ghazals in the generic form which would later be recognized as normative, and because he employed the ghazal to both profane and mystical ends, including almost all the motifs and topoi to be found in subsequent ghazals (at least to Safavid times), a close examination of his poems--a worthy subject in its own right--should also help define for us how the ghazal developed into a fixed-form genre and what the horizons of expectation of that genre were.

CHAPTER TWO

ASPECTS OF THE LIFE AND CAREER OF SANĀ'I

Ghazna and its Cultural Geography

Majdud ebn Ādam, known reverently to posterity as Hakim Sanā'i ("the sage Sanā'i") was born in the ancient city of Ghazna in eastern Afghanistan. This fact is attested to by the poet himself:

*šādmān bāš az man o az xvod keh andar nazm o naṣr
n-az xorāsān cun to'i zād-ast n-az ḡaznayn co man¹*

Be content with me and with yourself, too,
for neither Khorasan for you
nor Ghaznayn for me
has ever produced rival
in rhyme or in prose.

*gar-ceh mowled marā ze ḡaznayn ast
nazm-e še'r-am co naqš-e mācin ast²*

Though Ghaznayn be my birth-place
the patterns of my poetry
are like the pictures of China

Ghazna, which is variously written in the Arabic script as Ghaznah, Ghazni, Ghaznin, or Ghaznayn³ is situated midway

¹ *DS*, 528; in a poem for Qāṣi Najm al-Din Abu 'Ali Hasan-e Ḡaznavi, who was, according to the testimony of this poem, either originally from Khorasan and went to Ghazna to make his fame or vice-versa. See *OPP*, 60.

² *Hadiqat al-ḥaqiqat*, 707:16.

³ For the etymology of this toponym, see E. Benveniste, "Le nom de la ville de Ghazna." *Journal Asiatique* 226 (1935): 141-3, who identifies Ghazna with the word for treasure, *ganj*,

between Kabul and Qandahār in an area of eastern Afghanistan known as Zābolestān. Though part of the Iranian lands from Achaemenid times (ancient Arachosia), it was on the periphery and developed somewhat distinct and apart from the Iranian lands to the west. In Qandahār Indian influences were strong and this frontier region passed back and forth from Iranian to Greek to Indian political control from the time of the Achaemenids and the Mauryas to the Moghuls and the Safavids.

The major urban areas of Sasanian Khorasan, such as Marv and Balkh, were occupied or settled by Muslim troops at an early period, and the Hephthalites (a confederation, it would seem, of Iranian and Turkish peoples in the upper Oxus valley and northern Afghanistan) were defeated by the Arab invaders towards the middle of the first century after Islam. Zābolestān, however, was ruled for some time afterward by petty local rulers, with whom the Saffarids came into conflict in the 3rd/9th century, and the Samanids and Ghaznavids later still.⁴ The Turkish governors deputized by the Samanids to hold Ghazna appear to have taken the city from a certain Luyak, who is alternatively labelled a Muslim and a pagan by later writers. When defeated, he apparently fled to Ghur, but either he himself or his son were able to recover and hold the city in 353/964 for a year, only to make a final unsuccessful

as had already been suggested by J. Marquart in 1915.

⁴ C. E. Bosworth, "Notes on the Pre-Ghaznavid History of Eastern Afghanistan," *Islamic Quarterly* 9, 1-2 (1965): 15-16.

putsch (which cost him his life) with the aid of the Hindushahis of Kabul in 366/977.⁵ In any case, on the basis of onomastic evidence, R. Bulliet has shown that the mass of the Iranian population did not convert to Islam until the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.⁶

Thus, though Islam came to Afghanistan quite early, at least parts of the territory, including Ghazna, were still on the periphery of the zone of Islamicate hegemony. An Abbasid mosque near Balkh dating to the ninth or tenth century of the common era is the earliest surviving Muslim religious monument so far discovered in Afghanistan,⁷ and it is only reasonable to assume that the mountainous hinterlands, like Ghur, being difficult of access, were not brought completely into the Islamic cultural sphere until a comparatively late date. Indeed, Kāferestān, a region in the Hindu Kush mountains north

⁵ *ibid.*, 16-22, which relies in part on the work of the Afghan scholar, 'Abd al-Hayy Ḥabībī Qandahāri. Bosworth refers to him as Lawīk, but actually the name is Luyak, for which see H. Mo'ayyad's review of the *Divān-e 'Amid Luyaki*, *Iran Nameh* 5, 2 (Winter 1365/1987), 368-9.

⁶ R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1979.

⁷ See the following: L. Golombek, "Abbasid Mosque at Balkh," *Oriental Art* 15, 3 (1969): 173-89.; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "La plus ancienne mosquée de Balkh," *Arts Asiatiques* 20 (1969): 3-19, which inclines to an earlier date, sometime in the 8th century.; G. A. Pugachentkova, "Les monuments peu connus de l'architecture médiévale de l'Afghanistan," *Afghanistan* 21, 1 (Spring 1347/1968): 17-52, especially 25, where the dating is given; K. Fischer, "From the Rise of Islam to the Mongol Invasion," in *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, ed. F. R. Allchin and Norman Hammond (London: Academic Press, 1978), 301-355.

of the Kabul river valley, was converted from paganism only in modern times.⁸

It was not until the advent of the Ghaznavid empire in the tenth and eleventh century A.D. that the eastern areas of Afghanistan, including Zābolestān and its principal city, Ghazna, were fully integrated into the Islamic cultural sphere. Before Sultan Maḥmud chose it as his capital, Ghazna was an entrepôt on the trade route from India to Iran. Indeed, the occasional Indic word appears in the poetry of Sanā'i, such as *pāni*, meaning water, which Sanā'i uses in the rhyme position of one poem (Qaṣṣ295:16).⁹ As the vast wealth of Maḥmud's conquests poured into the city, and the elite of Iranian letters were attracted to its court, Ghazna was transformed into a sophisticated and cosmopolitan center of empire. Although the Ghaznavid dynasty suffered a decline from the heady days of Maḥmud under its later sovereigns, the city maintained not inconsiderable importance until its destruction in the maelstrom of the Ghurid ruler Jahān-suz,

⁸ In 1809 Mullah Najib reported to Mountstuart Elphinstone that the people in this region worship idols, perhaps ancestor spirits. They were converted to Islam only within the last one hundred years. See R. Fazy, "L'Exploration du Kafiristan par les Européens," *Asiatische Studien* 7 (1953), esp. 19.

⁹ Hāmed Hasan Qāderi, *Dāstān-e tārīx-e ordu* (Agra: Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, 1941), 8. My thanks to Vahid Fozdar for his help in understanding the Urdu. Qāderi also notes the use of Hindi words by Manucehri, prior to Sanā'i. A *divān* of poems in Hindi (no longer extant) was attributed to Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān.

about 545/1150.¹⁰ The ruins of the palace of Mas'ud III (r. 492-508/1099-1114), whose court Sanā'i sought to enter, betrays the prodigious wealth the city once possessed: its spacious inner courtyard, surrounded by four *ivān*, is paved in marble. The ornate inner walls of the palace were adorned with marble carvings, terracotta and stucco sculptured in geometric patterns painted red, blue and yellow.¹¹ Along the facades of the baked brick walls of the court a continuous inscription of Persian verse in praise of the Ghaznavid rulers was carved on a dado frieze in Kufic script.¹² Mas'ud III and Bahrāmšāh (r. 511-52/1117-1157) also had impressive eight-sided star-shaped minarets or victory towers of baked brick erected.¹³

Although the Ghaznavids managed to bring the area of eastern Afghanistan solidly into the Perso-Islamic cultural sphere, which, from the 5th/11th century became increasingly a unified elite culture, the substratum of popular culture remained free to draw on native elements, and the history of Iranian philosophy and letters demonstrates that traces of the Zoroastrian, Manichaeian and Buddhist cultures continued to

¹⁰ C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay* (New York: Columbia University, 1977).

¹¹ K. Fischer, "From the Rise of Islam," *op. cit.*, 313.

¹² A. Bombaci, *The Kūfic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966).

¹³ Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, *op. cit.*, 96-7, 119, 121.

surface throughout the Islamic period. According to the treatise *Bayān al-adyān* written by Abū al-Ma'ālī Moḥammad ebn 'Obayd Allāh in 489/1096,¹⁴ a copy of the legendary picture-book of Māni, the *Arž(v)ang*, was preserved in the Ghaznavid library.¹⁵ The architecture, as is not surprising, reflects traces of the influence of regional Buddhist art.¹⁶ As R. Frye points out, "The multitude of deities mentioned on the gold coins of the great Kushans...should be enough to indicate a most varied religious picture in the entire east Iranian area."¹⁷ Eastern Afghanistan, especially the Kabul valley, was until the seventh century A.D. "strongly Buddhist,"¹⁸ as is evident from the travel diary of Hiuen-Tsang (Hsüan Tsang), a Buddhist monk who travelled through Transoxania, eastern Afghanistan and India from 629 to 645 A.D., passing through Ghazna (*Ho-si-na*) about 630 A.D. His chronicle, *Si-Yu-Ki*, mentions a number of Buddhist monasteries in the areas of Kabul and Zābolestān as well as the existence in these regions of a thousand temples, apparently of various creeds, including the temple on mount

¹⁴ D. Šafā, *Tarīx-i adabiāt dar Irān*, 2:920.

¹⁵ Abu al-Ma'ālī Moḥammad b. al-Hosayn al-'Alavi, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. Hāšem Rażī (Tehran: Mo'asseseh-ye Maṭbu'āti-ye Farāhāni, 1342/1964), 18.

¹⁶ K. Fischer, "From the Rise of Islam," *op. cit.*, 329.

¹⁷ R. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), 46.

¹⁸ Bosworth, "Notes on the pre-Ghaznavid history of Eastern Afghanistan," 12.

Sunagir, associated with the heavenly spirit Su-na.¹⁹ The later Arab chroniclers and geographers refer to what is apparently the same temple as Mount Zur or Zun,²⁰ and place it in the Zamindawar area of southern Zābolestān.²¹ According to Balāḍūrī, the temple contained a gold idol with ruby eyes, which the Muslim conquerors dutifully destroyed.²² This temple was probably devoted to the worship of the Sun God,²³ an indication that the ancient Iranian practice of the

¹⁹ See for Huan Tsang, *Memoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tr. M. Stanislas Julien (Paris: 1857), 1:47; *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, tr. Samuel Beal, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1914), esp. 1:62 and 2:283-4. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D.*, 2 vols. (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904-1905), esp. 1:126-7. For Sunagir, see Abdul Hai Habibi, "The Temple of Sunagir, Zoon or Zoor in ancient Afghanistan," In *Yad Name-ye Jan Rypka*, (Prague: Academia, 1967), 75-78.

²⁰ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-73), 4:28.

²¹ A. H. Habibi argues (op. cit.) that the Indo/Iranian Suriya (Avestan *hvar*, meaning sun) was Arabicized as *zūr*, and *Suna* as *zūn*, the two terms being conflated with one another in the Arabic sources with the sense of idol temple or idol worship.

²² Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balāḍūrī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo: Maktabat al-Naṣat al-Miṣriyya, 1957), 2:486.

²³ See Habibi, "Temple of Sunagir." A temple at Kotal Xayr-xāneh 12 miles northwest of Kabul was excavated by French archaeologists who found a marble statue of the sun god Suriya riding in a two-horse chariot with two disciples at his side (see J. Hackin with J. Carl, *Recherches archeologiques au col de Khair khaneh pres de Kabul* [Paris: Les Editions d'art et histoire, 1936]). Frye (*Golden Age*, 45-6) gives a non-committal assessment of the materials on the religious trends in Zābolestān. An extremely erudite article by J. Marquart and J. J. de Groot, "Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žun vom 6.-9. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, ed. G.

veneration of the sun, aspects of which are preserved in Zoroastrian tradition, was still thriving in this region, despite the presence of Buddhist communities. The Hindushahi kingdom of Waihind continued to flourish until the tenth century,²⁴ and as is related in the anonymous *Hodud al-'ālam* (w. 372/982), Kabul was during this time a center of pilgrimage for Indians and in Jalālābād (Nangrahar) the people were idol-worshippers.²⁵

Melikian-Chirvani has provided a detailed study of the Buddhist literary tropes in Persian literature.²⁶ In Sanā'i's case, it is quite likely that he had first-hand knowledge of the Buddhist shrines, *Naw Bahār*, both in the area of Ghazna and in Balkh. *Naw Bahār*, which literally means "new spring" in neo-Persian, is now known to derive from the Sanskrit *nava vihāra* for "New Buddhist Monastery."²⁷ It would seem from the distribution of the toponym *Naw Bahār* that a specifically Iranian form of Buddhism spread westward from

Weil (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1915), 248-92, suggests that Su-na may be identified with Aži Dahāka (288-90).

²⁴ Bosworth, "Notes on the Pre-Ghaznavid History," 12.

²⁵ *Hodud al-'ālam men al-mašreq elā al-mağreb*, ed. Manucher Sotudēh (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dāneshgāh-e Tehran, 1962). See the translation and explanations by V. Minorsky in *Hudūd al-'Alam, the Regions of the World* (London: Luzac and Co., 1937), 111 and 91, respectively.

²⁶ A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "L'Evocation littéraire du Bouddhisme dans l'Iran musulman," in *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*, vol. 2, ed. Jean Aubin (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974), 1-72.

²⁷ R. Bulliet, "Naw Bahār and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism," *Iran* 14 (1976): 140-145.

eastern Afghanistan through the areas of Sistan and Khorasan.²⁸ The Barmakid family, which held the position of vizier under the early Abbasid caliphs, has been shown to be of Buddhist origins, Barmak having been a Buddhist priest in charge of the *Naw Bahār* monastery in Balkh. The Bāmiān valley, the passageway from the Kabul plain to Central Asia, had been settled by Buddhists, and the colossal Buddha carvings, statues and paintings there already "reflect the transformations which were to lead the religion to Mahāyāna." The Buddhist enclaves in Fondukestān and Tepeh-ye Sardar (Ghazna) represent "another wave of influences coming from India in the seventh and eighth centuries," displaying strong Mahāyāna and even Tantric aspects. The monastic complex of Hadda (near present-day Jalālābād) was erected around a *stūpa* containing a relic of the Buddha.²⁹ These Buddhist traces and remnants may well account for the frequent references in the poems of Sanā'i, and the Ghaznavid poets before him, to shamans, idols and idol-worshippers. Indeed, not only the visual iconography of Buddhism, but also its literature seems to have been known, at least from oral renditions, to Sanā'i, who introduced the Buddhist parable of the five blind men and the elephant into Islamic literature in his *Hadiqat*.³⁰

²⁸ *ibid.*, 142.

²⁹ S. Gaulier, R. Jera-Bezard and M. Maillard, *Buddhism in Afghanistan and Central Asia* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), Part 1, 2.

³⁰ *Hadiqat*, 69-71.

Facts of Life

J. T. P. de Bruijn, based upon his examination of the traditional accounts of the vita of Sanā'i, several modern attempts at biography and information gleaned from the poems themselves, has provided a critical biography of Sanā'i.³¹ The present chapter is an attempt to add details and thicken the description of de Bruijn's account of the poetic career of Sanā'i, the influences which shaped him, the relationships with his patrons, and the audiences for which he wrote.

De Bruijn's biographical sketch represents the most coherent and complete attempt to date at incorporating and accounting for the various reports and known facts about the life of Sanā'i. According to de Bruijn, Sanā'i was born between 480/1087 and 484/1091 and began his career as a professional poet by 494/1101. Though precocious children undoubtedly learned the rudiments of versification, poetic vocabulary and banquet decorum quite early, it is somewhat difficult to imagine a boy of ten or even thirteen having the stature and necessary credentials to enter the service of a socially prominent patron, unless the boy's father was already in the service of that patron or was a man of some renown. Though this may give us some pause about the birthdate suggested by de Bruijn, the earlier birthdate of 437/1045-6 given in Faṣiḥ al-Din's *Mojmal-i Faṣiḥi* is, in all likelihood, erroneous. Modarres-e Rażavi suggests a birthdate of either

³¹ OPP, 3-86.

463/1070 or 473/1080, depending on whether the date of death was 525/1131 or 535/1141, as he believes the poet was aged sixty-two upon his death.³² Further research into the dates of Sanā'i's patrons and references to historical events in his poems, in combination with the effort to reconstruct a more detailed chronology of his individual poems, may lead to more certainty about our conclusions for the dates of his birth, the beginning of his poetic career and his death. Such investigations must, however, take under consideration the insightful points raised by de Bruijn about the topoi of age employed by Sanā'i (and indeed by pre-modern Persian poets in general),³³ when evaluating the accuracy of the age a poet ascribes to himself in his verse. Although we can provisionally accept 480/1087 as an approximate date of birth, as de Bruijn notes, we must "resign ourselves to the fact that the exact date of Sanā'i's birth has never been recorded."³⁴

In his twenties, Sanā'i left Ghazna for Balkh, probably sometime after 503/1109, when Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān had returned to Ghazna after his second period of imprisonment. Sanā'i remained in Balkh, where he wrote his *Kār-nāmeḥ*, in which he describes the poets, musicians and other figures connected with the Ghaznavid court. This work must have been

³² Modarres-e Rażavi, *DS*, xxxiv.

³³ *OPP*, 26-31. De Bruijn's date of birth is based upon statements in the text of Sanā'i's poetry about being age forty.

³⁴ *OPP*, 25.

completed prior to 508/1115, as Mas'ud III was still the Ghaznavid Shah at the time the *Kār-nāme*h was written. The headings to many mystical poems in the *Divān*, if authentic, indicate that Sanā'i was connected with circles of gnostically oriented jurists and Sufis while in Balkh.

After having spent some years in Balkh, Sanā'i apparently found it necessary to flee to Saraxs, where he met Sayf al-Din Abu al-Mafāxer Moḥammad ebn Maṣṣur, the chief Qāḏi and preacher in Saraxs, who is mentioned as a patron or mystical teacher in several poems.³⁵ Sanā'i dedicated his *Sayr al-'ebād elā al-ma'ād*, an allegory of the soul's ascent to its creator, which draws upon the Zoroastrian tradition of Ardā Wirāf and perhaps also on the model of Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri's (d. 449/1057) *Risālat al-ḡufrān*, to this patron. De Bruijn estimates that Sanā'i would have been about thirty-three years of age when he met Moḥammad-e Maṣṣur. While in Khorasan, Sanā'i also visited Herat and Nishapur, probably on the strength of Moḥammad-e Maṣṣur's connections there.³⁶

It was at this juncture of his career, in Saraxs, that Sanā'i apparently became quite famous. We find panegyres to important state officials, and his growing reputation must have made it possible for Sanā'i to return to Ghazna as a

³⁵ OPP, 62-8. See also *Maqāmāt-e Žāndeh-pil (Šayx Aḥmad-e Jām)*, ed. H. Moayyad (Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjomeh va Našr-e Ketāb, 1340/1961), 13 and 42-46, for a description of this Qāḏi and his conflict with Aḥmad-e Jām.

³⁶ OPP, 74-8.

well-respected poet, assured of a reception at the court. When he returned, in about 520/1126, Bahrāmšāh had been in power for about eight years, taking control, with the help of Sanjar (see below). Sanā'i wrote numerous *qaṣīdehs* and ghazal-like poems of praise for Bahrāmšāh, as we shall see, and also dedicated a version or portions of the *Hadiqat al-haqiqat* to him, though the fuller version of the work was primarily addressed to Borhān al-Din Beryāngar in Baghdad (see Chapter Three). Sanā'i also dedicated a few poems of praise to other lesser state officials during this period. Shortly after the completion of the materials which are now found in the *Hadiqat*, but before a final edition of the text was prepared, Sanā'i died, most probably in 525/1131.

Contrary to the legend related in the *Tadkereh* literature, Sanā'i did not undergo a mystical conversion which led him to suddenly forswear the practice of poetry at court for the exclusive practice of religious and spiritual poetry. He began his poetic career writing for an audience of preachers and judges, writing religious, spiritual and ethical verse, as the pen name *Sanā'i*--the illumined one--and the importance that the poet invests in this sobriquet, which originated in the circle of judges and 'ulamā among whom he originally began his poetic career (e.g., Qaṣ269:33)³⁷, would suggest. He hoped, having established a reputation among the 'ulamā, and among the lesser notables of the Ghaznavid state,

³⁷ For Yusof b. Aḥmad L.jāmi (*Haddādi*); see *OPP*, 260n79.

to break into the inner circles of the court of Mas'ud III. Either because his interests and disposition did not sit well with the monarch or because he lacked the proper connections, Sanā'i did not succeed in catching the attention of Mas'ud III and gaining entrée to his circle of poets. This led him to concentrate more on the religious and mystical patrons who were interested in his work, though it did not "convert" him from the practice of court poetry. Indeed, upon his return from Khorasan to Ghazna he entered the service of the eventual successor to Mas'ud III, Bahrāmshāh. Having by that time established a reputation all over Iran, and because the Ghaznavid empire itself had lost much of its authority, Sanā'i was more in control of the subject matter of his poetry, and was able to practice his spiritual/mystical poetry in the context of the court.

Aḥmad Āteš's theory, accepted by Modarres-e Rażavi, that Sanā'i suffered from some form of dementia or mental illness in his younger days,³⁸ has been persuasively rejected by de Bruijn.³⁹ In addition to the counter-arguments given by de Bruijn, it can be shown that the verse Āteš takes to be indicative of mental illness, which occurs in a poem for the

³⁸ Ateş, "Sanā'ī'nin hal tercümesinin meseleleri," in *Necati Lugal Armağanı, Türk Tarik Kurumu yayınlarından*, VII. seri-Sa. 50, (Ankara, 1968), 123-4. See also his article in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Senâ'î," and Modarres-e Rażavi's introduction, *DS*, cxx. My thanks to Houshang Naraghi of Amsterdam for his help in translating the Turkish.

³⁹ *OPP*, 53-4.

physician 'Ali ebn Moḥammad, is in fact a very conventional image for poems in this rhyme (*el). Sanā'i (Qaṣṣ162:22) gives us the following:

*z-ān fekrat-e bihudeh ke dar xāṭer-e man bud
yek sālāteh rah bud ze man tā be-salāsel*

The delirious thoughts that were in my mind
very nearly caused me to be put in chains

This poem is a pastiche of Manucehri's *qaṣīdeh* in this rhyme (itself a conscious imitation of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry),⁴⁰ which contains the following line about his camel:

*najīb-e xviš rā didam be-yek su
co div-i dast o pā andar salāsel*⁴¹

I saw my best camel to one side
its feet and forelocks chained, like a demon.

Adib-e Ṣāber also has a poem in this rhyme for Atsez, in which the lover is tied up like a madman:

*bi selseleh-ye zolf-e to aknun del o dāneš
bar man na-tvān bast be-zanjir o salāsei*⁴²

Without the links of your locks,
heart and learning cannot be kept within me
except with chains and fetters.

Since this is a conventional image, the line allows no room for speculation about mental illness; it otherwise appears from the poem that a digestive ailment (or perhaps even an outbreak of influenza?), which caused a delirious fever, is at

⁴⁰ Manucehri, *Divān*, 53-9.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, 55:813.

⁴² *Divān*, ed. 'Ali Qavim, 158.

issue, for which a purgative (*moshel*) was prescribed, as is clear in the following extended passage from the poem:⁴³

*budam ze malul-i co tan-e mardom-e ma'lul
 budam ze xodur-i co del-e mardom-e gāfel
 xod hāl-e degar xelṭ ce-guyam keh ze sowdā
 budam co kasi k-u xvorad afyun o halāhel
 dar guš-e man az za'f-e del-am vaqt-e šonudan
 con šur-e pasin āmadi āvāz-e jalājel
 be-nmud marā ša'badeh-hā'i keh be-na-nmud
 az šad yek-e ān ša'badeh hārut be-bābel
 z-ān fekrat-e bihudeh keh dar xāṭer-e man bud
 yek sāl'ateh rah bud ze man tā beh salāsel
 andar šajar-e 'omr-e bahār-i o zemestān
 nālidi az ān za'f o 'anā del co 'anādel
 man dar hadd-e gāznayn o marā fekrat-e fāsed
 gah dar hadd-e cin bordi o gah dar hadd-e mowšel
 al-mennato le-llah keh konun ān-hameh 'ellat
 šod sahl be-farr-e to az in xordan-e moshel....*

I was wretched, like the body of the sick
 I was wrapped in veils, like the heart of the heedless
 How shall I tell of my other humors, for yellow bile
 made me like an eater of opium or monkshood
 When bells tinkled, due to the weakness of my heart,
 my ears heard the sound of the Doomsday Trumpet
 It showed me such sleight-of-hand tricks of which
 Hārut in Babylon knew only one one-hundredth.
 The delirious thoughts that were in my mind
 very nearly caused me to be put in chains
 On the tree of life, spring-tide and winter, the heart
 wailed in its weakness and torment like nightingales
 I in the pale of Ghazna and my deluded thoughts
 racing now to China, now unto Mosul
 Thanks be to God!
 For now all that sickness has turned to ease
 by your majestic grace, after taking a purgative....

Poets and Influences

The literary historian al-Rāvandi, writing in 599/1202-3, recounts that Sayyed Ašraf, a Ghaznavid poet who flourished in the mid-12th century A.D., advised a promising young poet that he should select two hundred lines of poetry which are

⁴³ DS, from Qaṣṣ162, pp. 355-6.

pleasing to his poetic temperament from the recent Persian poets (*mota'axxerān*) like 'Emādi, Anvari, Sayyed Ašraf and Bu al-Faraj Runi, as well as from Arab poetry and proverbs, and from the moralistic verses of the *Šāh-nāme*h. These should be memorized. Rāvandi argues that the poet should hone his skills by paying attention to Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāme*h, but that he must absolutely avoid reading or hearing the poems of Sanā'i, 'Onşori, Mo'ezzi and Rudaki, because the poetic genius (*ṭab'*) of these masters was overwhelming and would only stifle the talents of an aspiring poet and hinder him from achieving his purpose.⁴⁴

The *Qābus-nāme*h (w. 475/1082) also has some advice for the apprentice poet:

If a phrase or an image really strikes your fancy and you wish to appropriate it as your own, you should not get cocky and use the same expression verbatim. If the thing occurs in panegyric, you use it in satire, and if it is in a satire, you use it in a panegyric, and if you hear it in a ghazal, use it in an elegy, and if you hear it in an elegy, use it in a ghazal, so that no one will know where it is from.⁴⁵

The author of this passage, 'Onşor al-Ma'ālī Kaykāvus ebn Voşmgir, goes on to advise that:

...if you seek out a patron and make your living from verse, you must not be sour-faced and your garments must not be soiled, you must be always pleasing of demeanor

⁴⁴ al-Rāvandi, *The Rāhat-uş-Şudūr wa Āyat-us-Surūr, Being a history of the Saljūqs*, ed. Muhammad Iqbal (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1921), 57-8. Rāvandi's anthology assumes that the poet will be writing court verse--*qaşidehs*, ghazals, *robā'is*--so that Ferdowsi's mastery of the narrative epic in the *Šāh-nāme*h will not, presumably, adversely affect the aspiring poet.

⁴⁵ Kaykāvus, *Qābus-nāme*h, ed. Nafisi, 140.

and smiling, and must memorize stories, other pleasantries and many witty repartees (*soxan-e mosketeh va mozhkeh*) to say before the king. A poet has no other choice.⁴⁶

Nezāmi 'Aruzi in his *Cahār maqāleh* (w. 551-2/1156-7) argues that a poet must strive to have his works written down in collections (*safā'en*) and recited by the right people (*bar alseneh-ye ahrār maqru'*) in the major cities (*va dar madā'en be-xvān-and*).⁴⁷ This implies that the bulk of poetry produced in the generations immediately following Sanā'i's death continued to be oral, occasional and mostly ephemeral in nature. Since the ultimate objective and *raison d'être* of a poem, according to 'Aruzi, is to ensure an everlasting name (*baqā'-e esm*) for both its author and its patron, it must be written down and recited (*maštūr va maqru'*) to have any lasting literary value. Based upon this assumption, 'Aruzi suggests the following regimen for the poet-to-be:

A poet cannot attain this level unless he, in the early prime of his youth, memorize 20,000 lines (*bayt*) from the poems of the predecessors (*motaqaddemān*) and keep 10,000 words (*kalemeh*) from the works of near contemporaries (*mota'axxerin*) before his eyes. He should be constantly perusing and learning the *divāns* of the masters to see how they have handled the difficulties and subtleties of language (*soxan*), such that the methods and genres of poetry become inscribed in his nature and the faults and virtues of poetry are etched in his brain....⁴⁸

After developing his poetic aptitude, the hopeful poet should study the science of poetics and prosody, focusing on the

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 140.

⁴⁷ *Cahār maqāleh*, ed. Qazvini and Mo'in, *op. cit.*, 47-8.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 47.

works of Abu al-Ḥasan al-Saraxsi al-Bahrāmi, and various aspects of rhetoric and poetics.

He should study these disciplines (*'olum*) with a master who knows them, so as to be worthy of the name "master," such that his own name will appear in the pages of history like the other masters we have mentioned, and in order to recompense his lord and patron with a lasting name in return for what he takes from the latter. As for the Shah, it is incumbent upon him to make arrangements for such a poet and see that he appears in his retinue so that the Shah's name is spread abroad through his panegyre. However, if the poet is not of this caliber, it is unseemly for the Shah to waste his silver and his attention on him, especially if he is old, for I have given much thought to the matter, and there is nothing worse in the world than an old poet and no greater waste of silver than to pay him.⁴⁹

The Ghaznavid poets Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān and Sanā'i give us an interesting opportunity to study the influence that older poets exercised on their younger contemporaries during the heyday of court poetry, as Sanā'i is known to have compiled Mas'ud Sa'd's *Divān*.⁵⁰ Mas'ud Sa'd would have been one of the recent poets (*mota'axxerān*) from the perspective of Sanā'i, in contradistinction to the old masters (*motaqaddemān*) of the Ghaznavid court like Farroxi, 'Onsori, Manucehri, and before them, Rudaki.

Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān was born between 438-40/1046-1049 in Lahore to an aristocratic father who had a position in the Ghaznavid court. He began his poetic career at the court of

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 48.

⁵⁰ On the question of poetic influence in the Persian tradition, see F. Lewis, "The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain: The Radīf 'Ātash u Āb'" in *Reorientations*, ed. Suzanne Stetkevych (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 199-226.

Ebrāhimšah (r. 451-92/1059-1099) and accompanied the latter's son, Sayf al-Dowleh Maḥmud, when he went to India in 469/1076-77 to assume the governorship of the territory. A decade later, in 480/1087, Mas'ud Sa'd was imprisoned with Sayf al-Dowleh and the rest of his courtiers after Sayf al-Dowleh fell under suspicion of treason. Mas'ud Sa'd spent the following ten years in a mountain prison in India writing *qaṣidehs* of forgiveness to Sultan Ebrāhim, until finally he was released through the intercession of friends in 489 or 490/1097. His freedom was, however, short-lived, and he was imprisoned once again for a further eight or nine years during the reign of Mas'ud ebn Ebrāhim's son, 'Alā al-Dowleh Mas'ud III (r. 492-508/1099-1114). In about 500/1106-7 the intercession of Seqat al-Molk Ṭāher ebn 'Ali, the head of the ministry of correspondence and an important Ghaznavid official, secured Mas'ud Sa'd's forgiveness and freedom from Mas'ud III. After being thus rehabilitated, Mas'ud Sa'd came to Ghazna, where he served Mas'ud III and four further Ghaznavid rulers as court librarian and sometime panegyrist until his death, aged about seventy-five, in 515/1121.

'Owfi asserts that Mas'ud Sa'd had three *Divāns*, one in Persian, one in Arabic and one in Hindi.⁵¹ Of the latter, there is no trace; of the Arabic, scattered remnants.⁵² The

⁵¹ 'Owfi, *Lobāb*, 2:246.

⁵² Foruzānfar, *Soxan va soxanvarān*, 215, and *Divān-e Mas'ud Sa'd-e Salmān*, ed. Yāsemi, S-SA (lx-lxi).

Persian *Divān* of Mas'ud Sa'd contains about 16,000 lines, mostly *qaṣidehs*, but also twenty-one ghazals in the classification of R. Yāsemi, as well as a series of poems based on the Persian months (borrowed from an Indian genre, the *barāmasa*), strophic poems (*tarji`-band* and *tarkib-band*) and *robā'is*. It is preserved, at least in part, thanks to Sanā'i who, at the request of *Seqat al-Molk Ṭāher ebn 'Ali*, a patron of both Sanā'i and Mas'ud Sa'd, collected the Mas'ud Sa'd's poems into a *divān* some time after the latter's second and final period of imprisonment. De Bruijn shows that this could not have occurred prior to 503-5/1109-11,⁵³ already ten years into Sanā'i's career (begun c. 494/1100-1), when he was about twenty or twenty-five years of age. Sanā'i, who did not establish a solid reputation for his poems until his extended sojourn in Khorasan, perhaps hoped to win support from his older and more established contemporary, Mas'ud Sa'd, by acting as the editor or compiler of his *divān*. The fact that Mas'ud Sa'd himself, who would have been about sixty-five years of age at the time, was not busy preserving his own work, but instead let this task fall to a younger and not very

⁵³ OPP, 32 and 43-4. de Bruijn cites the poem in the Yāsemi edition on pages 312-14, but I do not see the evidence for *Ramāzān* and *Naysān* in the poem on these pages in my edition (1362/1983), though it is for *Seqat al-Molk*. Other than the calendar correspondence given by de Bruijn, Mas'ud Sa'd could have been in Ghazna in 492/1099, the year of the Sultan's accession, just before his second term of imprisonment, or anywhere between the years 500/1106 and 508/1114, after the poet had once again been released from jail.

well-known poet who was apparently not personally close to him,⁵⁴ may be indicative of the continuing primacy of the performance tradition over the process of written transmission.

As it turns out, Mas'ud Sa'd was apparently not all that satisfied with the redactive job performed by Sanā'i, who included a poem or perhaps even a number of poems the authorship of which was denied by Mas'ud Sa'd. Sanā'i apologizes for this editorial blunder in a 29-line *qeṭ'eh* addressed to Mas'ud Sa'd, which is worth examining in detail:⁵⁵

ay 'amidi keh bāz ġaznayn rā
sirat o surat-at co bostān kard (1)

bāz 'aks-e jamāl-e gol-fām-at
hojreh-ye dideh rā golestān kard (2)

O illustrious one, whose mien and demeanor
have once more turned Ghazna into blossom and bower
Once again, the reflection of your rosy beauty
has turned our field of vision into a garden

Sanā'i then proceeds to compliment the pearl-laden speech of Mas'ud Sa'd and his far-seeing, illumined mind, which lays mysteries bare to the eyes of Reason, and continues in this vein:

ān-ceh dar tab'-e xalq xolq-e to kard
bar caman abr-hā-ye naysān kard (6)

⁵⁴ The date for the beginning of Sanā'i's career is based upon a poem written for an official who died in 494/1100-1, at which time he was probably no more than age 14. See OPP, 32. The age of Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān at the time of his release from prison (c. 500/1107) is said to be sixty-two by Yāsemi in his introduction to the *Divān*, xlvi (mim-vāv).

⁵⁵ DS, 1060-1.

*v-ān-ceh dar guš-e šāh še'rat xvānd
dar šadaf qaṭreh-hā-ye bārān kard* (7)

As the gentle spring rains work upon the meadows,
just so does your nature affect man's sensibility;
And like raindrops tickling pearls from mollusk shells,
just so your poetry whispers in the ear of the Shah.

Sanā'i now tells how he had intended to do a service to
Mas'ud Sa'd by collecting his poems in a single volume:

*con be-did in rahi keh gofteh-ye to
kāfarān rā hami mosalmān kard* (8)
*jam' kard in rahi-t še'r-e torā
con nobi rā gozideh 'Ogmān kard* (9)
*con volu'-e jahān be-še'r-e to did
'aql-e u gerd-e ṭab' jowlān kard* (10)
*še'r-hā rā be-jomleh dar divān
con farāham nehād divān kard* (11)
*daftar-e xviš rā ze naqš-e ḥoruf
qāyel-e 'aql o qābel-e jān kard* (12)
*tā co daryā-ye mowj-zan soxan-at
dar jahān dorr o gowhar arzān kard* (13)
*con yeki dorj sāxt por gowhar
'ajz-e dozdān bar u negah-bān kard* (14)

When this, your servant, saw that your sayings
turned the infidels all to believers,
He gathered together each of your verses
just as 'Ogmān collected the Scripture;
When he saw the whole world desirous of your poetry,
his reason, parading around his poetic sensibility,
Gathered all your poems together
and made them available in a *Divān*.
He filled up his quires with the shapes of letters
according to what was reasonable and pleasant.
Since your words, like a surging sea,
freely cast their gems and pearls on all the world,
He made it like a jewelbox filled with pearls,
and set over it as guard the inability of thieves (to
imitate it)

News of Sanā'i's efforts were conveyed to Mas'ud Sa'd by
Seqat al-Molk Ṭāher, who had perhaps suggested to Sanā'i that
he undertake this task, but upon examining this *divān*, Mas'ud
Sa'd promptly pointed out the existence of errors. The

following rather ungrateful and harsh reproof is then put in the mouth of Mas'ud Sa'd:

- Ṭāher in hāl piš-e xvājah be-goft*
xvājah yek nokteh goft o borhān kard (15)
goft āri Sanā'i az sar-e jahl
bā nobi jam'-e žāž-e ṭayyān kard (16)
dorr o xar-mohreh dar yeki rešteḥ
jam' kard ān-gahi parišān kard (17)
div rā bā ferešteḥ dar yek jāy
cun hameh ablahān be-zendān kard (18)

Ṭāher relayed this fact to my lord;
 my lord brought up an objection and proved it:
 He said, "Well, Sanā'i, in his ignorance, collected
 the vulgarities of a hod carrier with Scripture;
 He strung pearls and marbles on a single string
 and then spilled the beads.
 Like any ignoramus, he imprisoned a demon
 in the same place as an angel.

Sanā'i then defends himself with the following not implausible but certainly flattering excuse, which shows that poets already in his day were sometimes motivated to falsely ascribe verse to another:

- xvājah Ṭāher co in be-goft rahi-at*
xajeli shod keh vaṣf natvān kard (19)
lik ma'zur dār az ān-keh marā
mo'jez-e še'r-hā-t hayrān kard (20)
z-ānke bahr-e javāz-e še'r-e torā
še'r-e har šā'er-i keh dascān kard (21)
bahr-e 'ešq-e padid kardan-e xviš
xvištan dar miāneh penhān kard (22)
man ceh dānam keh az barā-ye foruxt
ān-ke xvod rā nazir-e Ḥassān kard (23)
pas cu še'r-i be-goft o nik āmad
dāğ-e Mas'ud-e Sa'd Salmān kard (24)

When Sir Ṭāher relayed this to your servant,
 I was so embarrassed, words could never describe!
 But I entreat you to forgive me, for the miracle
 of your verses had dumbfounded me.
 For, hoping to pass themselves off as yours,
 the verse of whatever poet fabricated them
 In the strong desire to reveal itself,
 hid itself in their midst.

How would I know about him who, in order to sell,
 posed as the peer of Hassān?
 So having composed a poem which turned out well,
 he branded it with the name of Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān.

In Chapter One I suggested that Mas'ud Sa'd may have been obliged for political reasons relating to his imprisonment to deny authorship of certain poems, but it is also possible that the explanation Sanā'i offers is the simple truth--that another poet, hoping to win an audience for his own verse, falsely branded it with the name of Mas'ud Sa'd. There is even some hint in this poem that it was Sanā'i, himself, as the compiler of Mas'ud's *Divān*, who was the culprit of this forgery. The coyness of the phrase "whatever poet fabricated them;" the variant reading in line 28a (not quoted) of *har sanā'i keh goft andar xalq* ("whichever Sanā'i said among the people") for *har sanā'-i keh gofti andar xalq* ("whatever praises you have bestowed upon people"), suggesting the verbal pun by which Sanā'i/sanā'i sometimes identifies himself; and the comparison to Hassān ibn Tābit, to whom Sanā'i sometimes compares himself (see below, "Musicians, Clerics..."), all circumstantially point towards Sanā'i as the offender.

Though Sanā'i was intimately acquainted with and praised Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān's poetry, this should not necessarily be taken as evidence that Sanā'i fell under his poetic influence. Moxtāri, whose style is quite different from Sanā'i, is thanked in one of Sanā'i's poems (Qaṣṣ131), which praises Moxtāri's poetic abilities and defends him from his detractors. It would seem from another poem (Qaṣṣ130:56-7)

that Moxtāri introduced Sanā'i to at least one potential patron,⁵⁶ and this raises an important question about the kinds of "influence" poets exerted on one another. Stylistic and artistic influence must be separated from that of commercial influence; poets working for the same circle of potential patrons tended to compose poems on models that were known to have been successful, and may have had more to do with the fashions at court than with the preferences of the poet himself.⁵⁷

Sanā'i's ghazals seem more inclined stylistically to his contemporary at the Seljuq court, Amir Mo'ezzi, whose death Sanā'i equates with the death of eloquent itself. There are several poems in the *Divān* of Sanā'i either mourning the death of Mo'ezzi, alluding to him, or written in imitation of his poems.⁵⁸ There is also a poem which appears to have been virtually plagiarized from a model by Mo'ezzi's father, Borhāni (Qaṣṣ27). Sanā'i also composed ghazals in imitation of poems by Rudaki,⁵⁹ Bu Sa'id [ebn Abi al-Xayr] (Gh105) and

⁵⁶ *OPP*, 43 and 258n33-34. *DS*, Qeṭ39 appears to be incorrectly attributed to Sanā'i and belongs rather to Moxtāri (see *Divān-e Moxtāri*, ed. Homā'i, 594n1).

⁵⁷ See F. Lewis, "The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain," *op. cit.*, 211-14.

⁵⁸ *DS*, Gh152, Qeṭ11, Qeṭ134, Qeṭ159, Qeṭ160, Rob249.

⁵⁹ *DS*, Gh396 and the *tarkib-band* on 765, both based upon Rudaki's poem *bu-ye ju-ye Muliān āyad hami*, discussed in chapter one, which though originally conceived as a *qaṣīdeh*, was understood by Sanā'i more as a ghazal, perhaps because only part of the poem survived.

Yusof-e Sa'id (Qaṣ195); he explicitly mentions Farroxi in another of his ghazals (Qaṣ190) and quotes a line of his in a *qaṣideh* (Qaṣ197:49-50). As a homiletic, religious and quasi-philosophical poet, Sanā'i would most likely have found a close affinity with Nāṣer Xosrow, though there is little explicit evidence of Sanā'i's awareness of the latter's poems in the form of quotations or *esteqbāl*. Sanā'i did compose one poem (Qaṣ148) in direct reply to a prose work, Kaykāvus ebn Vošmgir's *Qābus-nāmeḥ* (see Qaṣ148:21).

Sanā'i mentions a number of poets of Ghazna in his *Kār-nāmeḥ* (c. 508/1114), but once again it is difficult to know whether any of them, such as Moḥammad-e Nāṣer, who is also mentioned in a *qaṣideh* (Qaṣ22), or Ḥasan-e As'adi, to whom a *mosammaṭ* is likewise dedicated (DS, 786) had a significant impact upon him. The *Kār-nāmeḥ* itself, however, was most likely written under the influence of Moxtāri's *Fath-nāmeḥ* (written between 500/1106 and 508/1114), which is in the same meter (*xafif*) and style.⁶⁰ The *Kār-nāmeḥ* also shares in the mood and tone of Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān's *šahr-āšub*, as well as his poem describing of the Ghaznavid courtiers.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Homā'i speculates that the *Ḥadiqat* was modeled on Moxtāri's *Fath-nāmeḥ* (*Divān-e Moxtāri*, 696), but the style is quite different and might more plausibly be said to follow the model of Sanā'i's own *Sayr al-'ebād*.

⁶¹ *Divān-e Mas'ud Sa'd*, 636-53 and 562-579, respectively. Indeed, the latter poem concludes with a section titled *ṭibat* (*ṭibat-i mi-konam ma'ād Allāh*, 579) that may very well have suggested the alternate name for Sanā'i's *Kār-nāmeḥ*, which has also been known as *Moṭāyebeh-nāmeḥ*. Cf. OPP, 194, 196.

Nevertheless, Sanā'i often condemns other poets whom he accuses of debasing the profession in order to obtain a reward, as in the following line:

*joz šā'erān-e kutah-bin rā dar-in diār
bar bār-gāh-e jud o karimi-at bār nist*⁶²

There are none but short-sighted poets in this realm
admitted into your liberal and generous court

In several short poems Sanā'i satirizes a poet by the name of Mo'jezi in the crudest possible terms.⁶³ Another poem is directed against poets who are producing inferior imitations of Sanā'i's poetry.⁶⁴ He also mentions 'Onşori as a famous practitioner of the Persian panegyric *qaşideh*, whose counterpart in Arabic Sanā'i considers to be al-Buhturī.⁶⁵ Among the other Arabic poets mentioned in passing are Jarir and Farazdaq (Qaş8:12 and Qaş148), whose concentration on flyting poetry is condemned, al-Mutanabbī (Qeṭ40), and Ḥassān ibn Tābit (see below). In one *tarkib-band* (DS, 764) for a bilingual poet-patron (Makin al-Din Rāzi; see also Qaş199) a string of Persian and Arab poets, including Rudaki, 'Onşori,

⁶² DS, Qas44:21.

⁶³ Qeṭ68, Qeṭ98, Qeṭ158, Qeṭ175, Rob287, Rob249(?).

⁶⁴ DS, Qaş91, which mentions *Bu al-vāse'ān* (20), perhaps a reference to 'Abd al-Vāse' Jabali. See also Qaş36.

⁶⁵ This reference occurs in a *qaşideh* (DS, Qas284:17, 34 and 48) for Tāj al-Eşfahān Lesān al-Dahr, who himself composes poetry in both Persian and Arabic (he is called *du lesānayn* in line 28). The same poem also quotes Abu Ḥanifeh Eskāfi (another Ghaznavid poet) in praise of 'Onşori (line 34), who is also mentioned in several other poems of Sanā'i (Qaş81:9, Qaş290:44, and the *Tarkib-band* on 764).

Abu Tammām, al-Buḥturī, al-Aḫṭal and al-A'šā, are all mentioned as poets from the halcyon days of the poetic craft. However, the actual verse of the Arab poets mentioned by Sanā'i does not seem to have played a formative role in Sanā'i's poetic consciousness.

Of Poverty and Patronage

Gar to be-foruši ma-rā cun bandegān-at ḥaqq-e to-st
 z-ānkeh sad bār-am diyat dādi o sad bār-am bahā
 Bā niāz o bi navā budam co kardam xedmat-at
 gaštam az to bi-niāz o gashtam az to bā-navā

If you sell me like one of your servants,
 such is your right;
 for you have ransomed me and paid my price
 a hundred times over.
 I was destitute and impecunious;
 when I came into your service
 I became, through you,
 affluent and melodious.

With these lines for the Rawwadid ruler Abu Naṣr ebn Mamlān (r. in Azerbāyjān 451-463/1059-1071), Qaṭrān-e Tabrizi⁶⁶ provides a succinct statement of the benefits that the retained poet could expect to receive from a princely or imperial patron. Though a courtier, the poet is typically not a nobleman, but a servant, whose powers of speech secure for him a place at court at the patron's behest, and upon this patron's good favor depends the poet's payment and his continued position at court. Like a Madison Avenue Ad agency,⁶⁷ the poet provides an affirmation of both the structure of monarchy and the particular monarch,

⁶⁶ *Divān*, op. cit., 11.

⁶⁷ Cf. the chapter "The Problem of Commercial Art" in Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 261ff.

while the monarch, in turn, by designating one or a few poets above all other poets and poetasters in the realm, confers legitimacy and fame on the poet, providing him with a podium from which to proclaim the name and fame of both the writer and the ruler.

This view of patron-poet relations as a wealthy scoundrel purchasing the pretty words of an untruthful and perhaps unethical poet has often led twentieth century readers of Persian poetry to hold panegyric poets in contempt. At least since the fall of the Qajar dynasty, literary patronage and panegyric poetry has been interpreted as a sycophantic and decadent practice in which poets were complicit in propping up regimes that were not in the national or popular interest.⁶⁸ Persian critics have therefore focussed much more attention on nationalist poets like Ferdowsi, narrative poets like Nezāmi, or ethical and mystical poets like Rumi. Though the ghazals of Hāfez often have a line of dedication and praise to the ruler, this aspect of his poems was not really even noticed until the 1940s and has not been greatly emphasized, or when it has, it has been shown that Hāfez was critical of his patrons, and can be claimed as a *poet engagé*, a paradigm of the poetic profession that more nearly appropriates contemporary political sensibilities.

⁶⁸ See the article by 'Ali Dašti, "Ferdowsi yā Hāfez," *Sāyeh*, 3rd ed. (Tehran, 1335/1956), 53-4, originally published in *Mehr* 7, 2 (Ādar 1313/Autumn 1934).

Indeed, panegyrical poetry in all countries suffered a reversal of fortune since the enlightenment, coinciding with an expansion of the audience from the court to other social classes and to changing notions of art and aesthetics. In eighteenth century England this is illustrated by the satirical use of the word "panegyric" in the titles of poems. No longer did poets address, like Dryden, their poems "To His Sacred Majesty, A Panegyrick on his Coronation" (1661), but rather chose more frothy titles like "A Panegyric on Oxford Ale" (Thomas Warton, 1750) or earthy ones, like "A Panegyric upon that familiar animal by the vulgar called a louse," or titles in which the pejorative connotations of the word "panegyric" are even clearer still, such as in the poem "A Panegyric on Cuckoldum" (1732).⁶⁹ Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*, set in Rome, imagines the relationship of poet to patron as much more than pecuniary, as one of true friendship (indeed, the Roman word for the relationship is *amicitas*), but it is equally observable in this play that the "commercial realities of Elizabethan London" were sometimes more mundane. As Jonson puts it, the panegyrical poets were :

Fellows of practised and most laxative tongues
Whose empty and eager bellies i'the year
Compel their brains to many desperate shifts.

⁶⁹ J. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 15-16. The list of 18th century poems comes from Henry Knight Miller, "The Paradoxical Encomium with Special Reference to Its Vogue in England, 1600-1800," *MP* LIII (1956): 145-78 [non vidi].

The ideal patron may be that of Maecenas to Horace, and in such an ideal world, the poverty of the poet was "no excuse for profaning the sacred vocation of poetry," but the reality, it has been assumed, may have been more sordid.⁷⁰ Indeed, as early as 385 A.D., as Augustine of Hippo passed a beggar in the street, he became convinced of the honesty of that man's profession, and of the dishonesty of the panegyric he had prepared for the emperor of an imperfect political order :

How unhappy I felt...on that day, when I was preparing to declaim the emperor's praises, and to lie about many matters; and for doing it, I would gain favour from persons of discrimination.⁷¹

Given that the poet is dependent upon his patron for his livelihood, one might draw, as has Paul Millet, the essentially Marxist conclusion that "Patronage is one of the methods by which the rich seek to control the poor, and the poor try to protect themselves in a potentially hostile environment."⁷² Literary patronage, then, would be a kind of opiate of the poets, but one which provides at least a

⁷⁰ K. McKluskie, "Patronage and Commerce in Early Modern Drama," in *Patronage Politics and Literary Traditions in England, 1558-1658*, ed. Cedric C. Brown (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1991), 131. The quote from Jonson is l. 89.

⁷¹ *Confessions*, 6, 6, 9. Cited in S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981), 1.

⁷² P. Millet, "Patronage and its Avoidance," in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1989), 16. Millet here indicates that he is following the views of E. Gellner and J. Davis.

modicum of this-worldly reward. One might conclude, according to this view of patronage, that it is actually the poet who is the pusher and the patron an addict of the drug of the promise of everlasting fame. Indeed, the good citizens of Renaissance Italy who patronized the construction of churches did so in a way that turns Marx's notion of religion as an *opium populi* into an *opium patroni*; as Rona Goffen notes in her study of the patronage of art and architecture in Renaissance Venice (*Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice*), "the right to burial in one's parish church was the irresistible *quid pro quo*" which the friars of the Mendicant Orders, such as the Franciscans, dangled before potential patrons to entice them into contributing to the "building, decoration and endowment of their churches....":

In exchange for an endowment, to be administered by the testator's commissaries, the donor would be interred in sanctified ground, either inside the Church itself or in one of the cloisters, and his soul would benefit from friars' masses and the prayers of the faithful, including his family and friends."⁷³

Nezāmi 'Aruzi, writing c. 552/1157, in his *Cahār maqāleh* offers a similar rationale to explain why a royal Persian patron would want to cultivate a relationship with a poetic client:

Pas pādešāh rā az šā'er-e nik cāreh nist ke baqā-e esm-e u rā tartib konad va dekr-e u rā dar davāvin va

⁷³ R. Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 23-24.

*dafāter mogbat gardānad, zirā keh cun pādešāh be-amri
keh nā-gozir ast ma'mur šavad az laškar o ganj o
xazineh-ye u āsār namānad, va nām-e u be-sabab-e še'r-e
šā'erān jāvid be-mānad*⁷⁴

Therefore, the King must have a good poet to make provision for the immortality of his name by making mention of him in *Divāns* and albums. For when the King answers the command that cannot be avoided (death), no trace of his army or his jewels or his treasury will remain, but his name, by means of poetry, will live eternally.

Nezāmi 'Aruzi then quotes two lines of verse (by a certain Mojalladi or Moxalladi) to prove his point:

*az ān candān na'im-e in jahāni
keh mānd az Āl-e Sāsān v-Āl-e sāmān
sanā-ye Rudaki mānd-ast o medhat
navā-ye Bārbad mānd-ast o dastān*

Of all those worldly luxuries
what remains of the dynasties of Sāsān and Sāmān?
The praises of Rudaki and his panegyres endure;
the melodies of Bārbad and his ballads.

The *Cahār maqāleh* continues on in some detail enumerating, almost in the fashion of the who-begot-whom of Biblical genealogy, the rulers and the poets, some famous and some today hardly more than a name, associated with their courts.

Considering that the system of patronage was both pervasive and an important precondition for the production of Persian poetry in the pre-modern period, it has been relatively little studied. Indeed, only in the last fifteen years has the phenomenon of patronage come under insistent and revisionist scrutiny in the study of various literatures, literary systems and cultural economies. While

⁷⁴ Nezāmi 'Aruzi, op. cit., 44.

Persian scholars have been interested in the patrons of poets, this has been primarily to reconstruct chronologies, historical events and biographical details,⁷⁵ not for examining sociological or ideological questions about literary and cultural production that have been recently addressed in New Historicist and anthropological studies on panegyric in various literary traditions, especially Greek, Roman and Renaissance English poetry. For Persian, J. Meisami and J. Clinton both view panegyric poetry as an ideological representation of the culture--praise of the ideal monarch and encoding of the social structure and its courtly values, but this is as true of the romances of Nezāmi and the ghazals of Sa'di, which cannot be said to be panegyric poetry in the usual sense of the term, as it is of the *qaṣidehs* of Manucehri or Anvari.

Applying Marcel Mauss' theories on gift-giving and the "productive capacity" and "power of objects of exchange," Suzanne Stetkevych has convincingly shown that in the tribal poetics of pre-Islamic Arabia a panegyric poem could function as a ransom payment by transferring the gift of a poet's ability, a part of his life-force that normally

⁷⁵ Consider, for example, C. E. Bosworth's culling of the *divāns* of Ghaznavid poets for historical information about that empire [see his *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994:1040*, 2nd ed., (Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1973), 23, for the historical uses of poetic *divāns*], or Meisami's "Ghaznavid Panegyrics: Some Political Implications," *Iran* 28 (1990): 31-44, on Farroxi, court politics and double meanings in his poetry.

belongs to or is dedicated to praise of his tribe, to a non-kin member. The poet thus sacrifices "something of [his] own renown and immortality" to redeem a kinsman with the offering of a poem.⁷⁶ That poetry still today serves a specific and serious social function and is highly valued for this role in the tribal context in both Yemen and western Egypt, respectively, has been cogently demonstrated by S. Caton and L. Abu-Lughod.⁷⁷

Classical Persian poetry, of course, was not practiced in a tribal milieu, but was part of the urban cultural economy of the courts (especially *qaṣīdeh* poetry), the *dehqānān* or landed gentry (especially the epic and the romance, epitomized by Ferdowsi and Nezāmi), and later of Sufi circles or literary salons or *majles* (for example the ghazals of Rumi and Hāfez). The value and social purpose of poetry is clearly partly ritual within the courts, where, as Sabine MacCormack argues, the panegyric functioned much like a religious ritual, welcoming the *adventus* of the ruler as one would have welcomed a god: as a star from on high and a ray of the sun, expressing a sense of renewal at the ruler's

⁷⁶ S. Stetkevych, "Pre-Islamic Panegyric and the Poetics of Redemption: Mufaddalīyah 119 of 'Alqamah and Bānat Su'ād of Ka'b ibn Zuhayr," in *Reorientations/ Arabic and Persian Poetry*, ed. Suzanne P. Stetkevych (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 19.

⁷⁷ Caton, "*Peaks of Yemen*," op. cit. and Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments*, op. cit.

appearance and affirming his political legitimacy.⁷⁸

Though there is some disagreement over the degree to which medieval literature was primarily recreational, as G. Olson has argued,⁷⁹ or ritual; popular or elitist; political or moral, in nature, many of the New Historicists, taking their cue from Geertz' arguments about cultural semiotics,⁸⁰ like the "Old" Historicists who proceeded them, seem to assume that in an urban medieval setting the system of patronage exerted nearly total control over the poet, the literary scene, and the message or ideology of the poetry (although the historicists do allow that the genre affords the panegyric poet an opportunity to remind the emperor and the audience of the qualities of the ideal ruler and thereby theoretically impel the de facto ruler to a high standard of behavior). In the conventional concept of patronage, the relationship between poet and patron is typified by four characteristics:

- i) an exchange of goods and/or services that is reciprocal;
- ii) the relationship must be a personal one, and of some duration;

⁷⁸ S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, op. cit., 20-21.

⁷⁹ See G. Olson, *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

⁸⁰ See his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). For definitions and descriptions of what "New Historicism" entails, see the essays by some of its most noted practitioners in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veenser, (New York: Routledge, 1989).

iii) the relationship must be asymmetrical, inasmuch as the two parties are of unequal status, offering each other different sorts of goods and services.... [and (iv)] the relationship is conducted along lines largely determined by the party of superior status."⁸¹

It has recently been pointed out, however, that neither generation of Historicists has paid sufficient attention to the tensions within the system of patronage or the tenuousness of certain kinds of patronizing control.⁸² As M. D. Jardine phrases it:

The crucial question facing literary critics after a dose of new historicism is whether there are ways of reading patronage literature, or any literature as anything other than a reproduction of the dominant ideology.⁸³

He goes on to suggest that "One way might be to select texts which parade themselves as oppositional and independent of patronage."

I would like to suggest in the following examination of the audience and patrons for Sanā'i's poems a way of looking at Persian poetry, or rather specific Persian poems, in which the poet, acting as an independent agent and negotiating from a position of limited strength, can be seen to use and exploit the patronage relationship to achieve his

⁸¹ Millett, op. cit., 16. Millett is here elaborating on characteristics enumerated by R. P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge, 1982).

⁸² M. D. Jardine, "New Historicism for Old: New Conservatism for Old?: The Politics of Patronage in the Renaissance," in *Patronage Politics and Literary Traditions in England*, ed. Cedric Brown, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 291-309.

⁸³ Jardine, "Politics of Patronage," op. cit. 307-8.

own ends, leaving the patron with, as it were, the short end of the hemistich. The poet is not necessarily always on the losing end of what L. Kurke has called the *Traffic in Praise*;⁸⁴ sometimes the poet winds up in control of the means of production in the social economy. In such encounters, the poet draws upon what P. Bourdieu might call his "poetic capital," a form of "symbolic capital" and exchanges it for "symbolic power" (wealth, status, ideological influence, fame) within the field of cultural and literary production to achieve certain aims and win certain concessions from the patron.⁸⁵ It is not necessary, however, to appeal to fancy French theories in order to arrive at a model in which the king is no longer in total control. As N. Elias argues:

If one is inclined at first sight to explain the sociology of etiquette by the dependence of the nobility on the prince, on closer inspection a more complex state of affairs emerges. The nobility's need for distinction, on which they depend for their existence, serves the king's need for power. The

⁸⁴ L. Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). Note the correctives that Kurke's work gives to Elroy Bundy's early study of Pindar (*Studia Pindarica*, 1982), which latter work inspired Andras Hamori's study of Mutanabbi (*The Composition of Mutanabbi's Panegyrics to Sayf al-Dawla* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992], viii).

⁸⁵ See Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, tr. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); and two collection of his articles: *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson (Columbia University Press, 1993) and *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John Thompson, trans. G. Raymond and M. Adamson, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

threatened elite group's desire for social distance is the point at which the king can exert leverage on them. The aristocracy's desire to survive and the king's task of governing interlock like the links of a chain encircling the nobility.

If a court person said: I care nothing for distinction, *considération*, *valeur*, *honneur*, and whatever else the symbols of prestige and distance were called, the chain was broken.⁸⁶

Sanā'i did break this chain by his partial rejection of courtly values. A poet who at first aspired to enter the service of Mas'ud III (r. 492-508/1099-1115) at the Ghaznavid court, by building a reputation among the lesser notables--army colonels, officials, other court poets, the 'ulamā--finding that *entrée* was denied him, denounced the practice of court poetry (though this denunciation, as we shall see, was quite ambiguous) to build a poetic career among the religious scholars and Sufis, affording him, once his fame was thus established, a unique pulpit from which to preach to the rulers in a way that court poets were unable or disinclined to do. Sanā'i's career and the paradigm of non-court patronage that it established, also helped to permanently establish the professional practice of poetry in Sufi, Shiite and jurisprudential circles, thereby opening up new possibilities and forms for poetry and poets, and setting in motion a permanent change in the patron-poet relationship. Sanā'i was thus partially able to resolve

⁸⁶ N. Elias, *The Court Society*, tr. E. Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 117.

Augustine's dilemma, in which the panegyrist is somehow less than a beggar. As he explains:

*har keh dar ābād jā'i jost bi jāy ast o jāh
har keh dar virāneh ranj-i bord ganj-i bar gereft
cun Sanā'i did šad jā daftar o yek del na-did
rağm-e kāğad az del-e āzādegān daftar gereft*⁸⁷

He who seeks a place in palaces
lacks position and pomp
he who takes pains in ruins
wins a [true] treasure
When Sanā'i saw there are books of poetry
in hundreds of places
but not a single [true] heart,
Instead of paper, he chose to write
upon the hearts of the nobles.

The nobles (*āzādegān*) can refer simultaneously to the aristocrats associated with the court, the educated men of religion, and to the Sufis, in a code word meaning those truly "free" from the trappings of the world (and of the court).

In court society, Elias, like Bourdieu, attributes a good measure of free will to the individual courtier and allows that, because of conflicting pressures of groups and factions, unanticipated cultural and political events beyond the control of the ruler do transpire. Elias concludes:

Not only does each individual, in a sense, compete with every other for prestige, but different groups struggle with each other....All these, and other groups as well, are, moreover, internally split....This sets the king, as we can see, a very specific task as ruler; he must

⁸⁷ Qaṣṣ4:11-12. Note the alternative manuscript reading for the last line: *az gam-e kāğad ze del āzādeh gowhar bar gereft* (in grief [for lack] of paper, he got ink from his noble heart).

constantly ensure that the conflicting tendencies of court people act in his own favour....⁸⁸

While the concept of social patronage in the classical sense did indeed exist in Islam under the name of *iṣṭinā'*,⁸⁹ the Persian poet was not typically considered the protégé (*muṣṭana'* or *sanī'*) of his patron, or in some way morally bound or obliged to him, but rather the relationship was viewed in terms of a functional exchange: the patron was the *mamduḥ*, or one praised, the poet was the panegyrist or encomiast (*mādeḥ*, *maddāḥ*, *sanā-xvān*) and the commodity he exchanged for his livelihood was eloquently spoken praise (*madiḥ*, *medḥat*, *madḥ* or *sanā*).

It is true that the relationship between poet and ruler was often one in which the poet was nearly powerless and might be subject to bodily privations or physical harm. Poets might be imprisoned by imperial command, as Abū Nuwās was by Hārūn al-Rašīd and Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān--for a total of nineteen years--at the command of two successive Ghaznavid rulers (Ebrāhim and Mas'ud III). Sanjar's patronage could be positively lethal, though this was not apparently Sanjar's intent; his poet laureate, Mo'ezzi, was shot by an errant arrow from the Seljuq Sultan's quiver, and

⁸⁸ Elias, op. cit., 119-20.

⁸⁹ See the discussion of this institution in R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 82-93.

another of his poets, Adib-e Šāber, was killed (c. 540/1145) by the Khwarazmshah, Atsez, on charges of spying.

But we also encounter the examples of al-Mutanabbī who was able to move from one court to the next when he grew unhappy with his patron, insulting the unfortunate Ikhshidid ruler, Kāfūr, once he had left. al-Mutanabbī's paradigm of itinerant panegyre was taken up to an extent by Persian poets like Moxtāri, who travelled to various courts in the east and west of the Iranian cultural sphere.⁹⁰ The story recounted by the literary biographers of Ferdowsi, which has the poet denouncing Sultan Maḥmud of Ghazna for not adequately recompensing his thirty-year labor over the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* is, though apocryphal, nevertheless indicative of the medieval views of the hazards of the patron-poet relationship. Even if the verse denunciation of Maḥmud attributed to Ferdowsi was not actually written by him, it nevertheless continues to tar Maḥmud's reputation to this day and has served over the centuries as an admonition about the dangers of patronly parsimony. Maḥmud's failure to recognize and liberally reward the crowning glory of Iranian literature appears, in hindsight (like the refusal of Decca records to sign the Beatles), an outrageous failure of sense

⁹⁰ al-Mutanabbī, of course, left Kāfūr for an Iranian, though Arabicized, dynasty, the Buwayhids, specifically Azūd al-Dawlah at Shiraz. al-Mutanabbī, though an Arab poet, provides a particularly close-to-home example for Persian poets of a dissatisfied poet publicly skewering his patron and initiating a peripatetic itinerary of panegyre.

and sensibility. But, as Dick Davis points out, though Maḥmud was an "assiduous patron of Persian poetry," as a Turk who had defeated a Persian empire (the Sāmānids) with Turkish soldiers and established an even more resplendent empire in its place:

...it is difficult to see how he could have been particularly interested in a poem like *The Shāhnāmeḥ* which celebrated countless Persian victories over the Turks, and which usually cast the Turks and their kings as representatives of the evil principle of the universe, Ahreman.⁹¹

According to the *Tārix-e Sistān* (7-8), this is more or less the objection that Sultan Maḥmud is said to have voiced when the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* was read to him.

Indeed, royal patrons of Persian literature from the 4th/10th through the end of the 6th/12th and into the 7th/13th centuries were primarily interested not in epic forms like the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* but in ceremonial epideictic poems for performance at court, especially the *qaṣīdeḥ*, but also including the *qeṭʿeh* and the occasional strophic poem (*tarkib-band*, *tarjiʿ-band*). The Persian *qaṣīdeḥ* is usually bi-partite with an introit (called variously *tašbib* or *nasīb* by the poetic manuals), usually on the themes of spring, wine-drinking or a description of a beautiful but often unattainable beloved, followed by the *madḥ*, or praise, of the ruler, which typically ends in a one- to three-line *doʿā* in which the poet calls down prayers and blessings on the

⁹¹ D. Davis, *Epic and Sedition: The Case of Ferdowsi's Shāhnāmeḥ* (Fayetteville: Univ. of Arkansas Press, 1992), xx.

patron. Just prior to this prayer, the poet often makes allusion to the patron's beneficence and his reputation for generosity, which, of course, is a complimentary, though highly conventional, way of encouraging the patron to richly reward the poet. If the patron is the ruler of a wealthy territory and has a huge treasury to draw upon and a habit of bestowing gold and silver on panegyrists, such that it is said he rewards poets by filling their mouths with gold or silver coins (as Maḥmud of Ghazna is said to have done), a poet need do no more than allude to the patron's generosity.

If he can find a way to ask for it nicely, the poet is also permitted by the poetry manuals to ask for a specific reward. Rašid al-Din Vaṭvāṭ describes this art (*ṣan'at*) under the rubric, borrowed from Arab rhetorical manuals, of *ḥosn-e ṭalab*, as one in which the poet asks something of the *mamduḥ* (the patron, literally "the one praised") in a line (*bayt*), but gilds the request with elegance and sweetness, so as not to breach the requirements of decorum and respect (*ta'zim*).⁹² A poet was allowed to describe--in practice it is mostly to complain of--his own circumstances for the patron towards the end of the praise section of the *qaṣideh* in a pericope known as a *ḥasb-e ḥāl*, which might stir up the patron's sympathies for the human condition of the poet and allow the poet to hint at his specific needs. Indeed, a

⁹² See *Hadāyeq al-seḥr*, 33-4, where he cites an Arabic line by al-Mutanabbī, a single unattributed Persian verse and another one by Bu al-Ma'ālī Rāzi as examples of this art.

separate genre of begging from the ruler, *moltamasāt*, distinct from panegyre (*madh*), amorous poetry (*gazaliāt*), satire (*ahāji*) and *marāgi* (elegies for the dead), was identified at least since the 8th/14th century.⁹³ Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān also created another genre, *habsieh*, which laments the poet's pitiful incarcerated state, protests his innocence and attempts to barter apology and an expression of abject abasement in return for release from prison. Such poems did generate quite a bit of sympathy on the part of some members of the Ghaznavid nobility, such as *Seqat al-Molk Tāher*, and other poets, whose intercession did eventually secure the poet's release, so it would seem that such discourse was capable of creating symbolic power.

The *Cahār maqāleh* (69-71) mentions another situation in which poetry served as a ransom: *Togānšāh*, the son of *Alp Arslān* and governor of *Khorasan*, kept many poets as boon companions, among whom he names the famous *Azraqi* and a number of lesser poets. On one occasion when the young and impetuous *Shah* lost at backgammon to one of these poets, he nearly drew his sword against the hapless fellow, who in any case had been trying to lose, until *Azraqi* arose, approaching the minstrels (meaning that he positioned himself in a specific place with respect to the governor

⁹³ Reference to *moltamasāt* as a separate genre as early as manuscript (Film #573 of anthology #487 in *Ketābxāneh-ye Markazi-ye Dānešgāh-e Tehrān*, original in *Lālā Esmā'il* library in Turkey) written by *Hamza ben 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭusi* in 741 A.H. See *Šafi'i-Kadkani, Mofles-e kimiā-foruš*, 116 and 116n102.

and/or that he asked the musicians to accompany him) and improvised a quatrain on the subject of losing at backgammon, which brought about a total transformation in Toḡānshāh's disposition, such that he kissed Azraqi upon the eyes and filled his mouth with gold dinars. Nezāmi 'Aruzi concludes this passage with an expression of surprise at the value of this brief ditty: "and all for a little quatrain (*do-bayti*)!"

Indeed, to refuse entry to a poet who possessed great reserves of symbolic or cultural power might prove dangerous to a patron. We find, for example, Lāme'i (born between 402/1011 and 410/1020, died after 460/1068) sending a versified letter in the form of a *qeṭ'eh* to a potential patron, 'Amid al-Molk Abu Naṣr, the Vazir of Toḡril Beg the Seljuq (r. 429-55/1038-1063), to whose court the poet is seeking admittance. Lāme'i, who had newly arrived in the area, wrote a letter in fine calligraphy hoping to gain this patron's favor, and sent it to him via a messenger. The messenger returns to report his suit was unsuccessful because Abu Naṣr does not know who Lāme'i is. This greatly annoys Lāme'i who proceeds to compose the poem in question, in the *radif* or refrain "*man*" (me), which explains the above facts by way of a preface and then launches into self-praise of his own poetry, providing in the process a detailed curriculum vitae. The poet explains where he is from, who his parents are, how old he is (45), the fame he has won,

and his mastery in the poetic craft. He instructs the patron that the reason he will pay the poet is that the poet is a master of his craft, and then concludes with a humorous though rather vulgar and somewhat threatening line that implies the possibility that the patron will purchase himself eternal condemnation if he does not acquiesce to the poet's demand to appear at court:

*har nešāni keh marā bud be-dādam be-tamām
qadam az xaṭṭ-e adab birun na-nehādam man
var nešāni beh az in xvāhi tā šarḥ deham
keh ceh xvordam di o emruz kerā gādam man*⁹⁴

I've given you in detail
everything there is to know of me.
I've not set foot beyond the bounds of courtesy,
but if more than this you must have explanation
I'll tell what I ate yesterday
and whom I fucked today.

Though we may never be able to reconstruct the exact situation of the poet at court, as de Bruijn notes, "he was certainly not a mere servant like the minstrel and storyteller."⁹⁵ Though the poet occupies a position lower in the hierarchy than the ruler and most lesser nobles who would possess the means to patronize poetry, there was much concern, at least in the Samanid court, that the terms of encomium applied to the particular patron in the panegyric not be over-exaggerated. The poet, then, was not completely

⁹⁴ *Divān-e Lāme'i-ye Gorgāni*, ed. Moḥammad Dabir-Siāqi, (Tehran: Sāzemān-e Enteshārāt-e Ašrafi, 2536/1976), 132-4, where the poem is classified as a *geṭ'eh*. Reżā Qoli Hedāyat rightly interpreted this poem as a threat in his *Majma' al-foṣaḥā*, as 132n1 indicates.

⁹⁵ De Bruijn, "Poets and Minstrels," op. cit., 18-19.

subservient or abject, as evidenced by the veiled threat of satire in the above example from Lāme'i, but was able to negotiate with the words as well as with the patron he chose.

The poet, therefore, was not abjectly subservient and did not blindly affirm that naked emperors had sumptuous clothes. For example, Meysari in his *Dāneš-nāmeḥ* says that he thought long and hard about picking out a patron who would "buy" (*xaridār šavad*) his poem's sound knowledge, meaning one who would accept and be worthy of its wisdom and reward the poet accordingly:

*farāvān bā del-am andiṣeh kardam
xeradmandi o dāneš piṣeh kardam
keh bo-gzin-am šahi dānā vo bidār
keh hast in xub dāneš rā xaridār*⁹⁶

He finally settled on the Sepahsālār Nāṣer-e Dowlat, who had resuscitated the ruins of Iran and was superior to other kings in ten ways: wisdom, knowledge, righteousness, glib speech, justice, good disposition, manliness, knighthood or riding skills, beneficence and patience.⁹⁷ The *Qābus-nāmeḥ* makes selectivity and appropriateness in choosing the terms of praise for a particular patron into a literary principle:

*Sazā-ye har kasi be-dān va madḥ-i keh gu'i dar xvor-e
mamduḥ guy va ān kasi rā keh har gez kārd bar miān
nabasteh bāšad ma-guy keh šamšir-e to šir afkanad o be-
nayzeh kuh-e bi-sotun bar dāri o be-tir muy be-škāfi va*

⁹⁶ Lazard, op. cit., 183:97-8.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 183:99-105.

*ānkeh har gez bar xar-i na-nešasteh bāšad asb-e u rā be
doldol o borāq o raxš o šabdiz mānandeh makon*⁹⁸

Know what is befitting each person and when you compose a panegyre, it must be appropriate to the patron; to him who has never worn a dagger at his belt do not say "your sword slays lions and your spear shatters the mountain of Bisutun and you can split a hair with your arrow." And as for him who has never so much as sat on an ass, do not compare his horse to Doldol, Borāq, Raxš and Šabdiz.⁹⁹

As we have seen, poets could and often did travel to different courts in search of different patrons, and at least one patron is depicted by Daqiqi as imploring the poet, as a friend might ask for a letter from a tardy correspondent, for another poem dedicated in his name.¹⁰⁰ All these examples suggest that the relationship between poet and patron was worked out by negotiation, rather than determined primarily by rank or convention.

Perhaps of greatest interest for the inquiry into the cultural and economic value or power of poetry, are those poems written for lesser nobles, who may not have been well-practiced patrons and perhaps did not know what the appropriate reward for a poem would be. There are a number of examples of 10th century poets asking for or suggesting specific recompense for their poetic labors, many of them appearing relatively insignificant.

⁹⁸ Kaykāvus ebn Vošmgir, *Qābus-nāmeḥ*, 139.

⁹⁹ The beasts named here are the heroic mythical mounts of 'Ali, Mohammad, Rostam and Shirin, respectively.

¹⁰⁰ Lazard, 151-154.

For example, in a fragment from a poem about the proper social standing of various guilds (including musicians) and their rewards, Abu al-'Abbās Rabanjani seems to suggest that he has been reduced to eating a particularly unpalatable camel grass, full of thorns, and asks for a reward from the patron in return for his poem:

*co 'aqeb baxšādi gazit be-baxš
ham be-deh še'r-e bandeh rā fağyāz*¹⁰¹

Grant, as an underling grants tribute,
and give a token for your servant's poem

Daqiqi, in what is probably an allusion to the sumptuary conventions of the courts and a subtle hint at the needs of the poet, boasts that with his noble gift for ornamentation, he clothes panegyre, which comes before him naked, in turbans and cloaks:

*madiḥ tā be-bar-e man resid 'oryān bud
az far o zinat-e man yāft ṭaylasān o ezār*¹⁰²

Panegyre is naked until it comes before me;
from my adornment and glory,
it receives a cloak and turban

The denotation of these clothing terms has changed over time, *ṭaylasān* being variously applied to a cloak or mantle worn in some periods by the 'ulamā, other notables of society, and also by Sufis. Because the *ṭaylasān* could be pulled up over the head, it is sometimes used to denote a

¹⁰¹ Lazard, 69:38 and the note on 219, where the variant *nov-at* is given for *bandeh*--"your new poem." Note also that the middle line about *žāž* may be spurious. The meaning of the first half of the line quoted is somewhat obscure.

¹⁰² Lazard, 150:67.

kind of headgear. *Ezār* apparently referred to a kind of skirt wrapped around the pants by men, or to a kind of pants, or also to a kind of turban. Whatever the immediate article of clothing referred to by these terms, it is clear that they are distinctions of class--learning, rank, wealth--and are made of rich materials.¹⁰³

Sanā'i in several panegyrics makes reference to his need for such articles of clothing to enter the society of the court. Early in his career, as he tried unsuccessfully to gain admittance to the court of the Ghaznavid Mas'ud III, Sanā'i appealed to a number of army officers, poets (such as Mas'ud-Sa'd and Moxtāri) and 'ulamā in Ghazna, hoping to win the reputation and the accoutrements necessary to appear before the Sultan. In a *qaṣīdeh* (Qaṣ283) for a military governor, Šaraf al-Molk Zangi Moḥsen, Sanā'i calls upon himself to create poetry as beautiful as a bride and reveal it to this patron of noble rank:

dar pardeh-ye andiṣeh bi-ārāy 'arus-i
pas jelveh kon-aš piš-e mehi šah-tabāri (line 21)

This bride, however, lacks a dress to go out in public and must sit captive in the house like a bat:

zirā keh ze bi pirahani az qeḅal-e šarm
dar xāneh co xoffāš bed-u māndeh bašāri (35)

living her life like a butterfly in a cocoon (36). Sanā'i explains, increasingly lewdly, that her beautiful breasts

¹⁰³ see Ġ.-H. Yusofi, *EIr*, s.v. "Historical Lexicon of Persian Clothing," and M. Mo'in, *Farhang-e Fārsi*.

are frozen by the cold and that other parts of her anatomy are showing through her ragged clothes (38-42). The poet, who has come to the patron on the steed of hope (*bar asb-e omid āmadeh Majdud-e Sanā'i*, 34), is therefore desirous of the patron's generosity:

*ay xvājah-ye bā jud be-dān az qeḅal-e ānk
dāram tama' az jud-e to z-in še'r še'ār-i* (37)

Know then, generous Sir, that I desire
of your generosity an undergarment for this poetry

Finally, after further whetting the lascivious appetite of the patron for this unkissed bride (45), Sanā'i closes the poem with a declaration that the enjoyment of the anatomy of this poem (though the suggestion is also made that it is the poet who is prostituting part of his anatomy), even for one such as the patron, who has enjoyed many a beautiful anatomy, is worth an *ezār* and a *dorrā'eh* (a ceremonial woolen or cotton cloak worn by the *'ulamā* and nobles):¹⁰⁴

*arzad bar-at ay kun-e hameh xubān dideh
in šaxs be-dorrā'eh vo in kun be-ezāri* (46)

My person is worth a cloak
and my ass a turban to you,
o you who have seen the ass of every beauty!

It is clear that this poem was not for a ceremonial or solemn occasion, and represents the poet in a jocular and chummy relationship with the patron, though he is obviously needy. Indeed, Sanā'i comes from the lower echelons of the

¹⁰⁴ H. Moayyad gives a list of pre-Mongol Persian sources in which the word *dorrā'eh* occurs in his edition of *Maqāmāt-e Žandeh-pil*, op. cit., 41 and 41n1.

and he asks the son for an *ezār* in memory of the father
(24).

In other poems by Sanā'i, the reward for entertaining or educating the patron's guests, appears to be partaking in the banquet (e.g., Qaṣ22:53) or the wine convivium (Gh356) or, among the *'ulamā*, a lecture class convened for a visiting dignitary.¹⁰⁷ In other poems, Sanā'i ghost-writes a short panegyric for an astronomer, who, it appears, needs a verse cover letter to submit with a calendar he has calibrated for the Amir Bu Sa'id (Qaṣ244). Sanā'i probably received payment for this poem from the astronomer, as he did from musicians and singers, such as *Jamāl al-mo'āsherīn*, for the ghazals which he composed (Qeṭ134 and *Makātib*; see Chapter One). In other poems, Sanā'i offers physicians like 'Alī ibn Mohammad (Qaṣ66:44ff), who apparently enjoyed a reputation at the Ghaznavid court, poems of praise in lieu of money, which Sanā'i indicates he does not have, as payment for medicine. In another poem, after offering more praise to the same patron, it turns out that medicine was not the only thing the physician gave the poet (Qaṣ113):

*az makramat-e to-st keh payvasteh nehofteh ast
in šaxṣ be-dorrā'eh vo in pāy be-šalvār
pas cun tan-am ārāsteh-ye pīrahan-e tost
in farq-e marā niz biārāy be-dastār (47-48)*

It is through your beneficence that my person is
always clothed in a cloak and these feet in pants.

¹⁰⁷ See the description of the arrangements for such a class, in Bulliet, *Patricians*, 55-6.

And so, as my body is adorned in your shirt.
adorn my head as well with a turban.

The question arises whether asking for a reward of clothing was merely a topos; after all, Mahmud supposedly rewarded his poets with great riches and it is hard to believe that the poets were reduced to near-naked begging only a few generations later. Indeed, some of the complaints about not having proper attire are to be understood metaphorically, but the sumptuary conventions of the courts should not be forgotten. Certain colors signified certain ranks and, judging from the variety of terms for desirable fabrics, clothes conferred status and authority--"the clothes make the man." Indeed, the rite of investiture--bestowing a ceremonial cloak or *xel'at*--was perhaps the primary public conferral of political and also spiritual authority. In the famous story about Farroxi, it is recounted that the Amir of Caḡāniyān could not at first believe that the uncouth man who stood before him presenting a wonderful panegyre was its true author.

Once the institution of poetry became solidified and professionalized at the Ghaznavid court and elsewhere, someone like Sanā'i could not easily get in. One needs the sponsorship of an established noble, which can be conferred by wearing his colors or clothes marked with his insignia. Without some such means to distinguish a poet, there is no hope of him catching the attention of the sovereign even if he is given *entrée* to the court. As Bulliet concludes:

Whether money always played a part or not, the procedure which gained for one the privilege of even having one's credentials examined appears to have been one of sponsorship.¹⁰⁸

Mas'ud-e Sa'd-e Salmān, a poet who was richly rewarded with not only money but also the governorship of a small province, has a poem comparable to those of Sanā'i complaining about the lack of clothing.¹⁰⁹ Mas'ud Sa'd, apparently after falling out of favor and into prison, laments:

Man-am emruz basteh dar semeji

hast pirāhani o shalvāri
nist bar har do nifeh o tayriz

Today I am clothed in shame:

.....
 I have a shirt and pants
 but there is no sash and no insignia¹¹⁰

This must mean the poet has been stripped of his honor and rank at the court, and no longer has the right to wear the insignia of the sovereign or of the nobility, the *tayriz* being a triangular piece of cloth and the waist-band another identifiable mark of allegiance. Indeed, whole classes of people are often identified by their garments--the Sufis with their *dalq* and *xerqeh*, or patchwork cloaks, the 'ulamā with their *ṭaylasān*, such that Sanā'i frequently refers to the whole class as the *ṭaylasāndārān*.

¹⁰⁸ Bulliet, *Patricians*, 58.

¹⁰⁹ Mas'ud Sa'd, *Divān*, 603.

¹¹⁰ On the meaning of *nifeh*, see Mo'in, *Farhang-e fārsi*, who cites this verse.

One trick of the poets is to assert that only the intelligent and the initiated can truly appreciate them. Sanā'i uses this both as a prod to a generous reward, for having said before the patron and his assembled guests that a wise man would appreciate the poem properly, it might be embarrassing to be niggardly, and in an effort to justify and pride in the poet's unusual blend of poetry and piety and patronage (Qaṣṣ112:107):¹¹¹

*nokteh vo nazm-e Sanā'i nazd-e nādān dān conānk
piš-e kar barbaṭ-sarāy o nazd-e kur ā'ineh-dār (107)*

Know that the verities and verses of
Sanā'i are, to the ignorant, like
unto a lute played for a deaf man and
a mirror which is held up to the blind.

Such lesser patrons also lived in some fear of being satirized by a poet, as the following line from a poem critiquing the characteristics of different professions and social positions suggests (Qaṣṣ36:30):

*xvājeh-ye mo'ṭi ze pay-ye lāf o riā
tāzeh az medḥat o larzān ze dam-ast*

The beneficent noble who seeks out
boasting and hypocritical praise
is renewed by panegyric and
shakes in fear at condemnation

As it turns out, Sanā'i became quite familiar with a number of the lesser poets at the Ghaznavid court. Moxtāri

¹¹¹ Note that the poems are numbered out of sequence in Modarres-e Rażavi's edition of *DS* at this point; this poem, beginning on page 182 is #112. The line quoted is the last line of this 107-line *qaṣīdeh*, occurring on page 193. The following poem on that page is incorrectly numbered, and should be #113, as is the next poem, beginning on page 196, which should be #114.

seems to have introduced him to a patron or two (Qaṣ131),¹¹² but Sanā'i never managed to catch the attention of Sultan Mas'ud III. Indeed, there are several poems where he curses the profession of poet and the practice of panegyre, and denounces, though usually not by name, actual or potential patrons for not recognizing him or not paying him well (e.g., Qaṣ142, Qeṭ112 and 128). While the claim that the poet receives money only from the patron being currently addressed may have been a conventional and insincere form of flattery, designed to increase the poet's remuneration, some of these poems reflect the bitterness of Sanā'i's experience of rejection or his sense of being unappreciated and under-rewarded, especially in view of his superior learning in comparison with other poets. This often leads Sanā'i, in accordance with a long-standing trope of masculine domination, to imagine himself as having been sodomized by the ruler, as noted humorously in the poem for the physician 'Ali ebn Moḥammad, but more biliously in the following example (Qeṭ122):

*šā'erāni keh piš az in budand
hameh vālā bodand o rād o ḥakim
bāz dar ruzegār-e dowlāt-e mā
hameh ma'bun šodand o dun o la'im
be-do še'r-e rakik-e nā-mowzun
keh be-xvānand ze gofteh-hā-ye qadim
kun-farāxi ḥakim o xvājeh šavad
ce-konad ranj bordan-e ta'lim*

¹¹² See also *DS*, Qaṣ130 and the poem by Moxtāri (*Divān*, 245), recommending Sanā'i to Amir Maḥmud Rubāhi, apparently an official of Sultan Mas'ud III.

*lā jaram hormat-i padid āyad
 šā'erān rā be-gerd-e haft eqlim
 keh be-panjāh madh-ešān mamduh
 na-dehad dar do sāl nān-i nim*

The poets who came before this were
 all high-minded and righteous and wise
 Now, in the days of our current State
 all are buggered, abased and accursed
 With two coarse and arrhythmic verses
 that they recite from the sayings of yore
 Lord and Sage alike open wide their ass;
 what do they need with the toils of learning?
 Surely there will accrue some honor to
 true poets somewhere in the seven climes;
 for the patron gives them, for two years' time
 and fifty panegyres, not one half loaf of bread.

**Musicians, Clerics, Mystics, Sectarians, Kings and
 the Creator: The Varied Audiences of Sanā'i**

There are only two poems by Sanā'i which mention the name of 'Alā al-Din Mas'ud Shah III (Qaṣ197:10-14 and Qaṣ53:40-45), and these do not address the Shah directly, as de Bruijn notes.¹¹³ These references occur in the context of poems dedicated to a Ghaznavid official, Yusof ebn Aḥmad of the Haddādi clan, who derives his authority from the Shah, and they indicate that Sanā'i had not been successful in entering the royal court itself to directly panegyryze the king. Other poems during this period are addressed to lesser officials like 'Abd al-Vadud, the chief qāzi of the Ghaznavid empire,¹¹⁴ and appear to ask for the necessary clothes and introductions to enter the court (Qaṣ44:24-25).

Meanwhile, Sanā'i supported himself by selling ghazals

¹¹³ OPP, 41-2.

¹¹⁴ see Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, 72.

to musicians and singers, as indicated in his letters and in at least one of his poems (see Chapter One, "The Ghazal Milieu and the Need for *Taxalloş*"). We find in a *qaşıdeh* (Qaş228) given on the occasion of a Naw Ruz party hosted by the 'Omdeh-ye Divān (perhaps the secretary of the chancery?), Naşr Allāh ebn Dā'ud-e Saraxsi, an official in the Ghaznavid ministry who is himself accomplished with speech and the pen (15b-18), that Sanā'i has composed poetry for (or is himself performing poetry in) a musical setting (see lines 11, 14, 27). This particular poem he calls *şe'r*, which he sings when his turn comes, after the other poets-- who are referred to, as in the convention of the ghazal, as birds (*morgān*, the various types of which are enumerated, 27-8), whose laments are sung at dawn (14)--as an offering to the ruler. Sanā'i also composed or edited song-books or albums in return for money, as the following excerpt, for Jamāl al-Mo'āşerin, a *qavvāl* laid up in bed with gout, shows:

*gar bar to nay-āmadam šāyad
 keh gerān-am co baxšeş-e zar-e to
 to xvod az dard-e pāy ranjuri
 man ceh dard-e sar āvaram bar-e to*

*man ze taşvir-e daftar az taqşir
 zard budam co kelk-e lāğar-e to
 daftar-at bāz-e to ferestādam
 ham be-dast-e 'Ali barādar-e to
 daff-e tar bud daftar-at bar man
 bi-zabān-e kasi soxanvar-e to
 keh siyah-ruy bād har keh bud
 bi-to xvoş ruy hamco daftar-e to¹¹⁵*

¹¹⁵ DS, Qeç134:25-28.

If I did not come by to see you, it is fitting,
 for I am heavy, like your bestowals of gold.
 You are, yourself, in pain because of your foot;
 why should I come before you and give you a headache?

Like your thin pen, I was yellow with shame
 over the album full of errors!
 I sent your album back to you [after correcting it?]
 in the hands of 'Ali, your brother
 The album for you was [silent] for me
 like a yet un-dried tambourine skin
 without a tongue, melodious like yours,
 to give it body.
 May he be black-faced, whosoever is of cheery mein
 like your tambourine, without you.

This, then, is the milieu in which Sanā'i worked out
 one genre of his ghazals, as entertainment poems for lesser
 officials and as musical texts for singers.

But Sanā'i also composed a number of his poems,
 especially the homiletic poems, in a preacherly or clerical
 milieu, that of the 'ulamā (Qaṣ34, Qaṣ44, Qaṣ145, Qaṣ152,
 Qaṣ248). With the assistance of some of his clerical
 contacts, apparently the more mystically-minded of them,
 Sanā'i went to Khorasan where he eventually succeeded in
 establishing his poetic reputation within the Sufi circles,
 especially that of Moḥammad b. Maṣṣūr (Qaṣ87, Qaṣ122,
 Qaṣ127), for the opening of whose new *xāneqāh* Sanā'i
 provided a ceremonial dedication (Qeṭ92). The signs of a
 transitional phase between the pietistic and preacherly
 concerns of the 'ulamā and the more mystical orientation of
 the Sufis seems apparent in some poems (e.g., Qaṣ179).
 These led to poems which were clearly written for a Sufi or
 gnostic audience, such as the *Sayr al-'ebād*, and a number of

the poems from the Balkh and Saraxs period (e.g., Qaṣ55, Qaṣ132, Qaṣ183, etc.), many of which appear to have been written as catechisms or to accompany initiation rituals (see Chapter Five, set ten).

This setting, in which his poems were delivered to a circle of *'ulamā* gathered together by a shared interest in religious devotion and piety, allowed Sanā'i to concentrate on and develop his ethical and religious verse, while the reception he was given in Sufi circles provided an audience for mystically oriented poetry. In such a literary economy the poet can boast that he is a patron of God (Qaṣ63:35):

*elāhi nām-e xod kardam bed-u nesbat konam xod rā
agar har šā'er-i nesbat beh bahmān o folān dārad*

I have chosen a godly [pen]-name
and I trace my descent from Him,
Though other poets trace their ties
to so-and-so and such-an-one

With such audiences, Sanā'i can claim that his glory (*faxr*) is in this divine lineage (Qaṣ142 and 179) and that God is the only one who can listen to his praises (*madḥ*, Qaṣ179:37a):

na-dārad ṭāqat-e madḥ-am ze mamduḥān-e 'ālam kas

Not a single patron in this world
can stand my praises¹¹⁶

Indeed, we find God calling on Sanā'i and urging him to

¹¹⁶ There is a deliberate ambiguity here--no worldly patron is worthy of the poet's praises, only to God is our praise rightfully due. But also, we could understand that the poet's praises, because they are insufficiently sycophantic and contain much didactic and religious material, are unbearable for their patrons to hear.

glory only in his relation to the Lord (Qaṣ179:3):

*'ārefā faxr be-man kon keh xodāvand-e jahān-am
malek-e 'ālam-am o 'ālem-e asrār-e nehān-am*

O gnostic! Glory in Me,
for I am the Lord of the world,
I am the King of the earth and
I Know the hidden mysteries

Sanā'i thus imagines his role as the poet of religion, and more than once compares his vocation to that of Hassān ibn Tābit (d. prior to 40/661), the companion and poet of the Prophet Moḥammad (known as "*šā'ir al-rasūl Allāh*"), who composed poems promoting the new religion of Islam.¹¹⁷ In one poem (Qaṣ207), Sanā'i states:

*rāḥat az divān na-ju'i pas ze divān dur šow
bāz hel hamvāreh divān rā be-divān dāštan...
šā'eri bo-gdār o gerd-e šar' gard irā torā
zešt bāšād bi Moḥammad nazm-e Hassān dāštan*

You do not seek ease from demons [divān],
so stay clear of the Divān [the State ministry]!
Leave to the demons
the possession of the ministries....
Put aside the profession of poetry,
pivot about the law of religion, for
It would be most unseemly to have
the verse of Hassān without Moḥammad.

I have been unable to detect any poems in Sanā'i's *Divān* which were composed in direct imitation of poems in the *Dīwān* of Hassān ibn Tābit. Although Sanā'i does quote three lines attributed to Hassān in the *Hadiqat* (H226:14-18), these lines do not appear in modern editions of Hassān ibn Tābit's *Dīwān*, but were attributed to him by Ibn Qutaybah

¹¹⁷ See Qaṣ194:13, Qaṣ199:47, Qaṣ207:77 and Qaṣ233:21 (a poem which is clearly addressed to God), and *Hadiqat*, 226ff.

(d. 276/889) in his *'Uyūn al-axbār*.¹¹⁸ It would therefore seem that Sanā'i's admiration for Hassān ibn Tābit derives not from a close study of his poems, but from his *vita* and his traditional reception as a poet who dedicated his talents to the service of God and religion rather than to Sultan and dynasty. Sanā'i was thus able to conceive of the religious and mystical *majles* with its assemblage of noble-born Sufis (*āzādegān*) as the court of God, wherein his own poems functioned as divine panegyrics.

The tension between the practice of sacred and profane poetry was keenly felt by Sanā'i. In several poems he defends his professional practice of poetry at court, explaining for his friends among the *'ulamā* and the Sufis that professional poetry (*šā'eri*) has made it possible for him to devote his poetic talents to the Lord and to preach his ethical and religious concerns (e.g, Qaṣ54). In one poem (Gh260) Sanā'i tells the ascetics (*pārsāyān*, Gh260:8) who would accuse him of being impious or impure because of his association with the material world, that though he never was seduced by worldly desires (*ṭama'*), he has found a royal rank (*pāyegāh-e pādešā'i*, line 2) in contentment and has become exalted above the potentates by serving them (line 7). He explains that he has associated with those caught up in the conceits of the world (*bāṭel-xvorān*,

¹¹⁸ Modarres-e Rażavi, *Ta'liqat-e ḥadiqat al-ḥaqiqat* (n.p.: Mo'asseseh-ye Maṭbu'āti-ye 'Elmi, 1344/1965), 326-7.

Gh260:3) by way of *kam-zani* (Gh260:6), or self-incrimination, like the *malāmati* Sufis. Here he appears to gloss his activity at court as a kind of beggary (*gedā'i*, Gh260:9-10), similar to the mendicancy of the dervishes, explaining that though he has found release among the pietists (lines 3-4), and left the worldly to their own pursuits (line 4), the latter are nevertheless useful to him. In another poem Sanā'i argues that his association with people from many different walks of life (i.e., especially with the court and government officials), though it has harmed his own reputation, was deliberately undertaken as a service to the cause of the Sufis, i.e., the noble-born, or *āzādegān* (Gh349:4-5):

az *barā-ye kasb-e āb-e ru-ye xviš*
 āberu-ye xvod be-'omdā rixteh
 az *barā-ye xedmat-e āzādegān*
 bā hameh kas hamco āb āmixteh

In order to earn the water to feed his face,
 he spilled on purpose his own reputation.
 In order to serve the noble-born
 he mixed, like water, with all people

Indeed, several of the panegyrics for Bahrāmšāh, which promulgate Sufi ideas in a court setting, would seem to substantiate Sanā'i's claims on this score.

If Sanā'i sometimes expressed the tension between the political and the vatic functions of his poetry ideologically, as the conflict between the worldly and spiritual realms, at other times, his condemnation of the profession of courtly poetry stems from peevish

disappointment over poor treatment by a patron. For example, we find Sanā'i asserting that it is not profitable to write poems for worldly patrons, who are nothing but niggards (*baxilān*, Qaṣ137:20) and a bunch of misers (*mošt-i xasis*, Qaṣ137:35). Elsewhere Sanā'i denounces the practice of poetry for royal patrons, who are called demon-people (*div-mardom*, Qaṣ45:1) and vows to dedicate his talents purely to the heroes of religion, whose battles are fought with the sword of religion and who are superior to the heroes of royal lore, like Rostam, Esfandiār and Zāl (Qaṣ45:6-7). Sanā'i coins golden phrases (*zar zanad*)--the currency of the spiritual realm--after his own desire (*bar morād-e xvištan*), without stamping them with the Sultan's image (*bi mohr-e solṭān*, Qaṣ88:7).

Sanā'i considers not only his overtly homiletic *qaṣidehs* and poems of gnostic philosophy as products of his evangelical vocation, but also his songs of love, the ghazals, which he describes as poems in praise of the divine unity (*towḥid*):

ay kasāni keh ahl-e ḡaznayn-id
 bar sar-e xāk cun keh be-nšinid
 harzeh o bihodeh ma-pardāzid
 naft dar xerman-am may-andāzid
 zāher-e ānceh gofteh-hā-ye man ast
 vaṣf-e naqš-e xaṭ-e xodā-ye man ast
 to ma-xvān-aš ḡazal keh towḥid-ast
 bāṭen-aš vaḥy o ḥamd o tamjid-ast¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ *Hadiqat*, 744.

All those of you who dwell in Ghazna!
 when you take your seats upon this ground
 give no thought to nonsense and frivolity;
 do not set Greek fire to the fields I've sown.
 To outward aspect the portrait my words draw
 depicts the traces of the lines of my Lord;
 Do not call them ghazals,
 but testimonials of the divine unity;
 their inmost essence is
 Revelation, praise and glorification.

In this self-view, we may yet detect some influence of the overall ethos of the poetic corpus of Hassān ibn Tābit, if not of specific poems, who frequently began his *qaṣīdahs* with a *nasīb*, in the same fashion as the pre-Islamic poets, but would quickly truncate the amatory section or mood of the poem and turn to the *faxr* or praise section, asserting that the tears previously shed for the ruins of the encampment must now be dedicated to God.¹²⁰

Sanā'i's relationship to the Ghaznavid ruler, Bahrāmshāh, is also characterized by a new attitude toward the practice of courtly poetry. On the one hand, the poet rarely asks anything from this Sultan,¹²¹ perhaps because he does not need to do so; he is, as it were, on retainer, and already knows what his reward would be. On the other hand, the poet, having now established his credentials outside the circle of court and government, has the luxury

¹²⁰ J. Stetkevych, *Zephyrs of Najd*, 59-64.'

¹²¹ In contradistinction to the poems we have seen above, in which asks for articles of clothing, or in Qas274, where he importunes a dancer for sex in exchange for money, and also hints to the patron, Irān-shāh, that he would like some clothes as alms.

of turning down offers of patronage, both in the case of lesser notables, and also in the case of important officials (see the poems for Dargazini, Qaṣṣ65 and Qaṣṣ245). His livelihood depends not on his reputation as a court poet, but on his success in developing an audience for poetry among jurists and Sufis, so that he is no longer dependent on subsidies from the court, but can practice his profession, albeit on a more meager salary, for an audience that is more than willing to indulge his preacherly and mystical inclinations. In at least one poem (Qeṭṭ133:6-9), we find him declining an invitation to compose a poem for a given patron for the reason that he has taken a vow not to practice poetry before anyone, especially in the event it is associated with the military (*ḥarb-gāh*). For whatever reason, however, Sanā'i did not always refuse the patronage of the military; his *Divān* includes one poem for the army financier, Abu Naṣr Maṣṣur Sa'id of the Maymandi family, who seems to have been particularly interested in supporting poets.¹²²

Toward the end of his career, after he finally succeeded in gaining access to the Ghaznavid court, Sanā'i tired of the search for patrons, as he announces to Bahrāmšāh in one poem (Qaṣṣ255). In another poem (Qaṣṣ286:12 and 15), he declares his intention to close out his poetic

¹²² Qaṣṣ120. See *OPP*, 44.

career in the service of this very patron. Indeed, Sanā'i dedicated his major work, the *Ḥadiqat*, which was left unfinished at his death, to Bahrāmšāh, as well as to Borhān al-Din Beryāngar, whom Sanā'i apparently viewed as a spiritual mentor or perhaps even as a potential Mahdi. The panegyrical poems dedicated to Bahrāmšāh are, however, shorter than typical panegyrical *qaṣidehs*, in keeping with their religious and mystical (as opposed to courtly and political) orientation. Of the twenty-five poems dedicated explicitly to this patron, two are *robā'is* (Rob92 and Rob428) and only four contain more than twenty-five lines (Qaṣ80, Qaṣ90, Qaṣ116, and Qaṣ124). Of the remaining nineteen poems, the average length is only about sixteen lines, and typically, only two to three of the lines at the end are overtly panegyrical in the typical sense. Otherwise, many of the poems greatly resemble ghazals (e.g., Qaṣ73, Qaṣ238, Qaṣ247), both in structure and in content. Indeed, rarely do these poems focus on martial or hunting occasions (as in Qaṣ246), but instead present topoi typically associated with the ghazal--the wine symposium, the haughty beloved, etc. There is also the suggestion in many of Sanā'i's poems that Bahrāmšāh was involved to some extent in the meetings of a mystical society, if not an outright Sufi order, where the poet himself, although addressing his Sultan as one would address the beloved in the mystical tradition, might have enjoyed a spiritual and

social position in some ways superior to that of the ruler (e.g., Qaṣ32, Qaṣ255, Qaṣ265, Qaṣ277).

Undoubtedly, this truncation of the *qaṣideh* has something to do with the internal political circumstances of the Ghaznavid empire as well as with the poetic fame and religious standing of Sanā'i. The power of the Ghaznavid empire had been sharply curtailed as a result of the struggles for succession upon the death of Mas'ud III; when Bahrāmšāh finally assumed power (20 Šavvāl 510/ 25 February 1117), he marched into the city behind Sultan Sanjar, the Seljuq ruler, without whose intervention he would not have been able to assume the Ghaznavid throne.¹²³ Bahrāmšāh thus ruled essentially as a tributary to the Seljuq throne and the continued performance of lengthy panegyrics such as those that had been offered to his more powerful predecessors on the Ghaznavid throne might have rung hollow. Sultan Sanjar and various Seljuq officials even received poems of dedication from some of the Ghaznavid poets, including Bahrāmšāh's panegyrist, Hasan-e Ġaznavi.¹²⁴ Sanā'i, himself, had composed a poem while in Saraxs for the

¹²³ Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, 96-7.

¹²⁴ *Divān-e Seyyed Hasan-e Ġaznavi molaqqab beh Ašraf*, ed. M. T. Modarres-e Rażavi (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Tehran, 1328/1949), Qaṣ10, 14, 20, 26, 33, [58], *Tarjī'-band* 4 (pp213 and 215). Qaṣ10 (pp18-22) also appears in Sanā'i's *Divān*, but is likely by Seyyed Hasan (*Divān-e Seyyed*, 18n12 and DS, 85n2).

Seljuq vizier, Dargazini (Qaṣ245);¹²⁵ an undated poem which mentions Sanjar is also ascribed to Sanā'i, though de Bruijn considers this poem (Qaṣ208) a "pseudo-epigraphical" forgery.¹²⁶

De Bruijn rejects this poem because of its overt Shiite sympathies, arguing that Sanā'i, who kept in contact with prominent Sunni scholars throughout his career, could not have made a "public statement of this kind." There can, however, be no doubt that Sanā'i composed poems for Shiite circles (e.g., Qaṣ243, Qaṣ251, Qaṣ312, etc.); there are forty-nine poems in Sanā'i's *Divān* which mention 'Alī.¹²⁷ These include a number of jeremiad poems that call for the advent of the Mahdi (e.g., Qaṣ81, Qaṣ82, Qaṣ217, Qaṣ252, Qaṣ298, Qeṭ37, Qeṭ82, Qeṭ87, etc.), whom Sanā'i sometimes seems to identify with Borhan al-Din Beryāngar in Baghdad (as is perhaps the case in Qaṣ75). Qavāmi-ye Rāzi (fl. c. 512-560/1118-1165), an openly Shiite poet, claims in several of his poems to be another Sanā'i, meaning a composer of religious and Shiite verse,¹²⁸ and Sanā'i, in turn, seems

¹²⁵ *OPP*, 68-70. See also *Makātib*, 151ff, for the dating of this poem.

¹²⁶ *OPP*, 73-4.

¹²⁷ De Bruijn believes some of them, such as the poem for the eighth Imam, Reżā (Qaṣ204), are later forgeries. See *OPP*, 73-4.

¹²⁸ *Divān-e Šaraf al-šo'arā' Badr al-Din Qavāmi-ye Rāzi*, ed. Mir Jalāl al-Din Ḥosaynī Ormavī [Moḥaddeṡ] (n.p.: Cāpxāneh-ye Sepehr, 1334/1955). See the mention of Sanā'i on pp. 14, 19, 98, 107, 121 (from a poem in imitation of a famous

to acknowledge Qavāmi in one poem while at the same time asserting that those who boast of being another Sanā'i do not match his abilities as a poet of *gazal* and *marsi'eh*, and are therefore *anā'i* (foolish), rather than Sanā'i.¹²⁹

Only for an overtly Shiite audience or patron would it have been possible for Sanā'i to recite or circulate albums of poetry like the 'Alid jeremiad poems mentioned above. While it would probably have been possible for a determined contemporary investigator to discover Sanā'i's sectarian tendencies by making the appropriate inquiries, such poems would not necessarily become "public statements" making further contact with the Sunni 'ulamā impossible. Instead, they would be preserved by the textual or religious community to which they were addressed, to the exclusion of other audiences. In the case of *qaṣīdeh* 208, which mentions Sanjar, the word *dāštan* is employed as a *radīf*, which Sanā'i uses in several other poems. This *radīf* is also used by Xāqāni, but by few poets prior or after the 6th/12th century. If, therefore, we are to regard this poem as a forgery, it would most probably date from the first century after Sanā'i's death; if it were from a later period, it would have to be the work of a clever and careful forger. But the references to Sanjar and the Shiite sensibility

qaṣīdeh by Sanā'i), 172 (from a poem in *esteqbāl* of a line of the *Hadiqat*).

¹²⁹ DS, Qaṣ236:34-5 and also OPP, 73, which gives a translation of the verse in question. Compare also Qaṣ59:18.

reflected in the poem do not, in and of themselves, provide a major impediment to accepting Sanā'i's authorship.

Given the wide divergence in Sanā'i's audiences--musicians; government officials; the 'ulamā, both Sunni and Shiite; the Sufis in Khorasan and possibly Ghazna; and the Ghaznavid emperor, Bahrāmshāh--one would expect a good deal of variation in the topoi and themes of Sanā'i's poetry. However, we encounter the same stock types and topoi in poems written for these different audiences, which strongly suggests that the meaning of the symbols was determined *in situ*, by the audience. Where a poem was performed, for whom, and in what circumstances would bestow a specificity on the stock icons of the Persian poetic tradition, and create a concrete meaning for the textual community or audience that was being addressed. This is especially true with the iconography of the ghazal, which usually lacked a specific dedication and was therefore even more malleable and abstract in signification once divorced from its intended recitation milieu.

One of the earliest pseudo-biographical details about Sanā'i that circulated in the Sufi and literary *vitas* is given by 'Aṭṭār, and it is an uncanny parallel to the story of St. Augustine of Hippo and his chance encounter with a beggar, who received honestly what Augustine was soon to receive for dishonest panegyre.

In the *Moṣibat-nāmeḥ*, 'Aṭṭār recounts that Sanā'i, while wandering through the streets, chanced upon a street-cleaner and a muezzin, both busy with their respective tasks. Sanā'i concludes that despite the obvious difference in the respectability of their professions, both men are occupied with earning their daily bread. However, the street-cleaner is toiling earnestly and honestly in humility, whereas the muezzin is deceived into believing he is a pious man.

Sanā'i, like Augustine, wishes to return the prophetic element to poetry and be what the Roman poets considered a *vates*, a priest of the Muses, rather than a Mule of the patron. Horace, having found the ideal patron in Maecenas, was able to do this and to boast:

*...carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
verginibus puerisque canto*

I, priest of the Muses,
sing to boys and girls
songs never heard before.¹³⁰

In contradistinction to Qaṭrān, whose voice, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, was loosed in praise by his patron's liberality, Sanā'i in a dialogue with God, has the Creator command him to recite poetry, as though the poet, like Moḥammad, or like Ḥassān ibn Tābit (to whom he

¹³⁰ G. Williams, *The Nature of Roman Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 12-13.

sometimes compares himself, e.g., Qaṣ233), is the reciter of divine verse (Qaṣ267:49):

*ayā rāvi be-bar še`r-e man o dar šahr-hā mi-xvān
be-piš-e kehtar o mehtar sazaḡ gar dir be-stā`i
conān k-in āsemān har gez ze gašt-e xod nay-āsāyad
to niz az xvāndan-e towḡid šāyad gar na-yāsā`i*

O reciter! Take my poetry
and declaim it in the cities.
It is meet that you should praise [me] long
before both great and lowly
Just as the heavens never cease their spinning
likewise should you never cease to sing
the praises of the unity of God.

As the recompense for his poetic pronouncements of *towḡid*,
Sanā`i asks of his Lordly patron merely eternal salvation
(Qaṣ267:51):

*xodāvandā jahāndārā Sanā`i rā biāmorzi
bed-in towḡid ku kard-ast andar še`r paydā`i*

O Lord, who hast the world in hand,
forgive Sanā`i
on account of this *towḡid*
which he has brought forth in verse.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

READING, WRITING AND RECITATION:
SANĀ'Ī AND THE ORIGINS OF THE PERSIAN GHAZAL

VOLUME TWO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY
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CHAPTER THREE

THE ESSENTIAL POEM AT THE CENTER

Codicology and bibliography are, I believe, the foundations of knowledge.

--Moḥammad-Taḳī Dāneš-pažuh¹

The essential poem at the centre of things,
The arias that spiritual fiddlings make
have gorged the cast-iron of our lives with good
And the cast-iron of our works. But it is, dear sirs,
A difficult apperception, this gorging good,
Fetched by such slick-eyed nymphs, this essential gold,
This fortune's finding, disposed and re-disposed
By such slight genii in such pale air.

--Wallace Stevens, from "A Primitive Like an Orb," I

For well over one hundred years a number of scholars, both Iranian and European,² have devoted their attention to the fundamental but unglamorous task of cataloguing and describing the Persian manuscripts scattered throughout Iran, Turkey, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Arab world, Russia, Europe, North America and Japan.³ It was not

¹ "Nosxeh-šenāsi va ketāb-šenāsi beh e'teqād-e man pāyeh-ye 'olum ast," a remark made at a conference held in his honor on 7 June 1994, as reported by the daily newspaper *Eṭṭelā'āt-e bayn al-melali* (the new International Edition of *Eṭṭelā'āt*), no. 21, 19 Xordād 1373/9 June 1994, p. 3.

² There are too many to mention, but prominent among them are Gustav Flügel, Charles Rieu, Hermann Ethé, E. Blochet, E. G. Browne, Moḥammad Qazvini, C.A. Storey, Mojtabā Minovi, Moḥammad-Taḳī Dāneš-pažuh, Iraj Afšār, Aḥmad Monzavi, Iurii Bregel'.

³ For a synopsis, see I. Afšār, "Sar-godašt va sar-nevešt-e nosxeh-hā-ye xaṭṭi," *Iran Shenasi* 4:1 (Spring 1371/1992), 31-47 and also his *Rāh-namā-ye taḥqiqāt-e irāni* (Tehran, 1970), 325-48, where he gives a list of more than 80 libraries inside Iran and close to 300 libraries outside the country which contain significant collections of Persian

until 1991 that a formal program in codicology and bibliography was established in Iran, under the auspices of Moḥammad-Taḡi Dāneš-pažuh at the University of Tehran, to systematically train students to preserve, analyze and codify the manuscript heritage of Persian literature.⁴ As a consequence, no single method or standard has been widely adopted in cataloguing or editing Persian manuscripts, and the problems of specifically Persian manuscript transmission, as opposed to Greek and Latin manuscripts, or manuscripts in the various vernaculars of medieval Europe, or even Arabic manuscripts, have not to my knowledge been systematically expounded or theorized.⁵ Questions of methodology aside, much

manuscripts. For further details of some of the major collections and catalogues, see L. P. Elwell-Sutton, ed., *Bibliographical Guide to Iran: The Middle East Library Committee Guide*, (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Books and Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble, 1983), 20-36. The various articles in Rudi Mathee and Nikki Keddie, eds., *Iranian Studies in Europe and Japan, Iranian Studies* 20:2-4, (1987), provide useful supplemental information. However, neither of these includes much information on the significant number of Persian manuscripts in Central Asia, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, or the Balkans. Many Persian manuscripts in the former Yugoslavia were probably in Bosnia (we might recall here that Sudi, the author of the most famous commentary on the *Divān* of Ḥāfeẓ, was from Bosnia), and may now no longer exist. With the recent heavy bombardment of Kabul, a large number of important manuscripts and artifacts in Afghanistan are likewise presumed lost.

⁴ Afšār, "Sar-godašt," 36.

⁵ Mehdi Bayāni, *Ketāb-šenāsi-ye ketāb-hā-ye xaṭṭi* (Tehran: Mo'asseseh-ye Enteshārāt va Cāp-e Dānešgāh-e Tehrān, 1353/1974) provides a very short but helpful introductory manual on the subject. Information on paleography, illumination and book-binding can be gleaned from R. Māyel Haravi, *Loḡāt va eṣṭelāḥāt-e fann-e ketāb-sāzi, hamrāh bā eṣṭelāḥāt-e jeld-sāzi, taḏhib, naqqāši* (Tehran, 1353/1974),

of the surviving manuscript heritage of Persian letters remains uninventoried: I. Afšār estimates that of the approximately 200,000 manuscripts extant in Iran alone (about half of which are works in Arabic), only about 60,000 have been introduced in articles or published catalogues.⁶ M. A. Riāhi estimates that of 300,000 manuscripts in various locations in Turkey one-fourth to one-third are in Persian, many of them written before the Mongol period, and some unique copies.⁷ Few of these are listed in union catalogues, and a systematic comprehensive register of currently known Persian

though the focus is on printed books rather than manuscripts; from Badri Ātābāy, *Fehrest-e ālbum-hā-ye ketāb-xāneh-ye salṭanati* (Tehran: Cāpxāneh-ye Zibā, 2537/1978), 27-37; and from the pages of a variety of older manuscripts reproduced in Xānlari, Parviz Nātel, ed., *Žamimeh-ye dars-e tārix-e zabān-e Fārsi: šafaḥāt-i az nosxeh-hā-ye xaṭṭi-ye kohan* (Tehran?: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, 1346/1968). For a general survey of medieval Persian book production, see B. Brend, "The Arts of the Book," in *The Arts of Persia*, ed. R. W. Ferrier, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 232-42 and Norah Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1983), 224-49. A useful primary source is provided in an English translation by V. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters. A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, son of Mir Munshi* (Circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606) (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, Vol. 3, no. 2, 1959). For an excellent and well-illustrated synopsis on Persian calligraphy, see the article by Ġ.-Ḥ. Yūsufi in *EIr*, s.v. "Calligraphy."

⁶ *ibid.*, 38. This does not, of course, include Persian manuscripts in other countries which have not been catalogued or may have been incorrectly catalogued (such as the Florence manuscript of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, which was mis-catalogued as a Persian Qur'ān commentary).

⁷ M. A. Riāhi, *Zabān va adab-e fārsi dar qalam-rov-e 'Osmāni*, (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Pāžang, Fall 1369/1990), 221-3.

manuscripts and authors is lacking.⁸ It is not unlikely, given this situation, that further important manuscripts of well-known works will surface, making better critical editions possible. Nevertheless, a systematic history of the Persian manuscript tradition (including a world-wide register of Persian manuscripts indexed by date, scribe, place of origin, current location, and of course author and title), and the sociology of books and reading in Iran, as well as a more explicit theory of textual editing and the objectives of critical editions, especially in the light of developments in

⁸ Following the example set by Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, C. A. Storey compiled his *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey* (1927-), which has continued publication posthumously under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, but is nevertheless out-of-date. Elwell-Sutton (*Bibliographical Guide*, 12) notes a dissertation by G.H. Tasbihi, "The Problems of Bringing Storey's 'Persian Literature' up to Date: Persian Lexicography," Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1979 (non vidi). E. Yarshater also notes the efforts of François de Blois to continue the efforts of Storey (*Iranshenasi* 6, 18ff.???) Afšār, "Sar-godašt," 46-7, provides a desiderata for the further study of the Persian manuscript tradition. A Persian corollary to Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (1967-) would be ideal. Despite the labors of Brockelmann and Sezgin, it has been estimated that approximately 600,000 Arabic manuscripts from all periods have survived to our day, almost half of which are still uncatalogued. See A. Gacek, "Some Remarks on the Cataloguing of Arabic Manuscripts," *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 10 (1983): 173, cited in M. J. L. Young, "Editorial Preface," in *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, ed. M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham and R. B. Serjeant, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), xix. In the same volume David King ("Astronomy," 274) notes that there are about 10,000 copies of works on astronomy alone surviving in manuscript (apparently including Arabic, Persian, Turkish and possibly Urdu in this total), many of which remain uncatalogued and unused by scholars.

computer technology and electronic texts,⁹ could contribute greatly to the sophistication and utility of future editions of Persian works written in the pre-modern period.

This chapter will outline the textual state of Sanā'i's oeuvre, comparing it with the history of other Persian texts, such as Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāme* and Xayyām's *Robā'īāt*, and then suggest various approaches to the history and theory of Persian manuscript production and transmission which might illuminate some of the text critical problems of the works of Sanā'i and other Persian poets.

The Textual Condition

If we define a text as words in a certain order, then we have to say that the ordering of the words in every text is, in fact, at the factive level, unstable. No text, either conceptually or empirically, can have the "ordering of its words" defined or specified as invariant. Variation...is the invariant rule of the textual condition.

--Jerome McGann¹⁰

A great disorder is an order....A violent order is disorder....
--Wallace Stevens, from "Connoisseur of Chaos"

Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, who has bent over manuscripts of Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāme* for a quarter of a century, and has produced the first three volumes of an edition which most closely approaches what the copy presented by the poet to

⁹ For an excellent discussion of editorial theory and the impact of computer technology, see P. Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

¹⁰ J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 185.

Sultan Maḥmud of Ghazna in about 395/1005¹¹ must have contained, identifies four objectives for the modern editor of Persian texts, particularly the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*:

- 1) restoring the original form of altered words;
- 2) determining the correct order of the lines;
- 3) restoring passages that have been omitted from the copy text;
- 4) removing interpolations from the text.¹²

¹¹ According to A. S. Shahbazi, *Ferdowsī: A Critical Biography* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Harvard University Center for Middle Eastern Studies and Mazda Publishers, 1991), 85-6, who is, however, somewhat sloppy, giving variously 395/1004 (85), 394/1003-4 (86n51) and 396/1005 (92). He calculates this date from a line in the end of the text giving the poet's age as sixty-five (*co bogzašt sāl az baram šašt o panj*) at the time of dedication to Maḥmud. Shahbazi calculates a birth date of 3 Day 329 (3 Rabī' I 328 A.H.) /18 December 939 [On the birthday of Ferdowsi see also Shahbazi, "Zād-ruz-e Ferdowsi," *Iran Shenasi*, 2:2 (Summer 1369/1990):370-78, but it should be noted that the Jalāli calendar was not yet in effect and the occurrence of dates, festivals and intercalations were not always consistent in the Yazdegerdi or Xarāji calendars, so the corresponding Julian/Gregorian or Hejri dates may not be exact. See A. Panaino, "Calendars I. Pre-Islamic Calendars", esp. 661-2, and R. Abdollahy, "Calendars ii. Islamic Period", esp. 669-70, *EIr*], this means the poet would have turned 65 in the final weeks of 1004 A.D. de Bruijn has shown that Persian poets tend to employ a "topos of age" rather than providing an exact age (*OPP*, 26-31), and since 65 is a round number, one is tempted to discount it. However, because the poet refers in other passages to his 63rd year (*keh šod sāl-e guyandeh bar šašt o seh* and also *ayā šašt o seh sāleh mard-e kohon*), his 71st year (*co sāl andar āmad be-haftād o yek / hami zir-e še'r andar āmad falak*) and to being "nearly eighty" (*konun 'omr nazdik-e haštād šod*) on the 25th of Spandārmad 400 when the poem was finished, and because the Iranian *dehqāns* seem to have kept track of the birthdates of their children (Shahbazi, 24-30; note that Shahbazi [74] later confuses the 25th Spandārmad date with the year 384, whereas earlier [26] he rightly places it in 400), Ferdowsi may be more precise in making such statements than other poets. Nevertheless, the presentation of revised versions of the work to Sultan Maḥmud (see below) complicates the dating of this event.

¹² Dj. Khaleqi-Motlagh, "Mo'arrefi-ye qeṭe'āt-e elḥāqi-ye Šāh-nāmeḥ," *Gol-e ranj-hā-ye kohan*, ed. 'Alī Deh-bāši, (Tehran: Našr-e Markaz, 1372/1993), 128-170 (originally

Restoring the original readings and forms of ancient words that have been modernized¹³ and sifting out the sediment of lines added to the text by later copyists are the most important of these tasks, as far as the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* and Khaleghi-Motlagh are concerned.¹⁴ The premise that there was one original, authentic, authoritative text undergirds these objectives. Yet, Ferdowsi worked on his magnum opus for a period of twenty-five years or more, and prepared more than one edition during his lifetime.¹⁵ Shahbazi postulates that there were at least three "published" editions during the lifetime of Ferdowsi; the first in 384/994, dedicated to Hoyay-ye Qotayb, lacked the stories of Siāvaxš, Kay Xosrow's war with Turān and the history of the Sasanian kings;¹⁶ a revised and expanded "edition" was sent with a dedication to

published in *Iran Nameh*, 3:1 (Fall 1363/1984):26-53 and 3:2 (Winter 1363/1984):246-61.

¹³ e.g., Siāvaxš instead of the familiar Siāvaš, Siāvoš or Siāvowš.

¹⁴ See Abu'l-Qasem Ferdowsi, *The Shahnameh (The Book of Kings)*, ed. Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. 2, (Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York: Mazda Publishers and Bibliotheca Persica, 1990), 201n1, 480-81.

¹⁵ Shahbazi, op. cit., 71-94, who has Ferdowsi begin the work in 370/980 and complete the "master edition" in 400/1010). Ferdowsi, himself, refers to 35 years of work on the book (*Si o panj sāl az sarā-ye sepanj / basī ranj bordam be-omid-e ganj*). (Note that Khaleqi-Motlagh has been working on his critical edition of the poem almost as long). C.f. the discussion in *Ḍ. Šafā, Tārix-e adabiāt*, 1:461 and 471ff.

¹⁶ Shahbazi, op. cit., 74.

Maḥmud in 395/1004, when Ferdowsi was 65 years old;¹⁷ the "third and principal version" was completed in 400/1009-1010.¹⁸ In addition to these official versions, Abu Naṣr-e Varrāq, the scribe specifically mentioned by Ferdowsi for his first edition,¹⁹ and 'Alī Daylam, reported to be the scribe of the presentation copy for Sultan Maḥmud,²⁰ most likely sold other copies of at least portions of the story to bookdealers. It is only reasonable to assume that the poet kept his own copy as well, and Ferdowsi, or his reciter, Bu Dolaf,²¹ almost certainly recited from it on occasion for his friends among the *dehqāns* or allowed them to make copies. It may well be that some of the variant readings and the alternative organization found in the roughly 1000 surviving partial and complete manuscripts of Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāmeḥ*²² derive from the different stages of authorial versions of the text; some of the differences between the Florence manuscript of 614/1217, the oldest surviving manuscript known to exist,

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 85-6.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 94. C.f. Ṣafā, *Tārix-e adabiāt*, 1:466-77, esp. 472. Shahbazi seems to rely heavily on Ṣafā.

¹⁹ Shahbazi, 73, who cites the Moscow edition of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* (E.E. Bertel's, et al., eds., 9 vols., 1960-71), 9:381n18.

²⁰ Nezāmi 'Aruzi, *Cahār maqāleh*, 77-8.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² See Khaleghi-Motlagh, the Persian introduction to Abu'l-Qasem Ferdowsi, *The Shahnameh (Book of Kings)*, op. cit., 1:xix-xx.

and the London manuscript of sixty years later "cannot simply be explained as scribal error."²³ In addition to the negligence or deliberate interference of copyists,²⁴ as well as the possibility that different manuscripts are based upon varying stages of Ferdowsi's work, the professional storytellers (*naqqāl*, *qeṣṣeh-xvānān*)²⁵ who, working from memory and from prompt-books (*ṭumār*), have recounted from time immemorial, predating Ferdowsi's composition but later also following the basic outline of his text, the tales of Rostam for popular audiences in villages and later in coffee-houses throughout Iran, have generally not buttressed the text's

²³ J. Clinton, ed. and trans., *The Tragedy of Sohráb and Rostám* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), xviii. For a description of the various surviving manuscripts, see Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Der Plan Einer Neuen Schahname Edition," *Studia Iranica*, 10:1 (1981):85-92, esp. 89ff; and also Khaleghi-Motlagh, the Persian introduction to *The Shahnameh* (*Book of Kings*), xix-xxiii, xxxiii-xxxiv.

²⁴ Some of whom added in episodes from other literary epics, such as Asadi's *Garšāsp-nāmeḥ* according to Shahbazi (107).

²⁵ For an informative overview of this profession, see M. J. Maḥjub, "Naqqāli va qeṣṣeh-xvāni," *Iran Nameh* 9, 2 (Spring 1370/1991), 186-211, who points out that many Indian and Iranian stories, such as *Kalīleh va Demneh*, the *Thousand and One Nights* cycle, and the *Sendbād-nāmeḥ*, were circulated orally before being committed to writing, and the oral nature of the stories is explicitly signalled by the narrative structure (186-7). The tradition of nightly story-telling is probably immemorial, but for the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* cycle, the tradition is certainly attested at least prior to Abu Maṣṣūr's prose version (188-9). See also M. Page, "Professional Story Telling in Iran: Transmission and Practice," *Iranian Studies* 12 (1979): 195-215; and O. Davidson, *Poet and Hero in the Persian Book of Kings* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 56-7, 58-60, 65-72.

stability.²⁶ J. Dust-xvāh argues that the various epic legends circulating about the heroes of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, the *Garšāsp-nāmeḥ*, the *Borzu-nāmeḥ*, etc., are drawn from a number of sources, not only written and oral but also pictorial, often with several distinct traditions of each story,²⁷

²⁶ S. J. Maḥjub, "Šāh-nāmeḥ va farhang-e 'āmmeh," *Iranshenasi*, 2:2 (Summer 1369/1990), 248-272, opines that though Ferdowsi's verse to a great extent fixed the form of these national tales, nevertheless, popular recitation has continued to alter them to our day and will probably continue to do so in the future, more especially as the legend of Rostam is concerned, and less so as the more historical narration of the Sasanian kings is concerned. O. Davidson (*Poet and Hero*, op. cit., 57) translates Adam Olearius' description of a coffee-house in Isfahan c. 1632 A.D., wherein are found "poets and historians whom I have seen sitting inside on high stools and have heard telling all manner of legends, fables and poeticized things. While narrating they conjure up images by gestures with a little wand, much as magicians play tricks."

²⁷ J. Dust-xvāh, "Kāveh-ye āhangar be revāyat-e naqqālān," *Iran Nameh* 10, 1 (Winter 1370/1992): 122-44. Picture recitation, a tradition that was quite strong in both China and India, was practiced by variously designated performers in Iran (*ṣurat-xvān*, *pardeh-zan* and *šamāyel-gardān*); the illustrations obviously determine the story content to a great extent, but there remains considerable room for improvisation and embellishment by the storyteller depending on the audience and context. In contemporary Iranian villages, this tradition is primarily associated with stories of religious rather than epic heroes, though this was not necessarily always the case. M. J. Maḥjub, "The Effect of European Theatre and the Influence of the its Theatrical Methods Upon Ta'ziyeh," in *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. P. Chelkowski, (New York: New York University Press and Soroush Press, 1979), 144-5, assumes that the Safavids borrowed the practice of visually depicting religious heroes from European painters, specifically Raphael and Michelangelo, but it seems more likely the practice is much earlier and was influenced by Chinese and Indian picture recitation; for this see V. Mair, *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and its Indian Genesis* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), which includes a specific discussion of Iran (118-20). The possible connection between shadow plays and the illustrations of Arabic literary texts in the 13th

threads from which have doubtless been sewn into the expanding textual quilt of Ferdowsi's version of the epic over the centuries.

Not only were the legends of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* told and retold in the popular milieu of the story-tellers, but apparently Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāmeḥ* was often recited among the literati, as well.²⁸ Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān recounts how the minister and poet Abu Naṣr-e Pārsi, after becoming drunk in one of the convivia (*majles*) of the governor of India, Širzād,²⁹ a situation which would normally call for light or

century A.D. has also been suggested by O. Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 142-3.

²⁸ Compare the creation of literary works from other oral story cycles in Arabic, notably *Alf laylah wa laylah* (The 1001 Nights), *Sīrat 'Antar*, *Sīrat al-amīrah dāt al-ḥimmah*, etc. M. C. Lyons discusses this phenomenon in "A Note on the Maqāma Form," in *History and Literature in Iran (Pembroke Papers 1, Studies in Honour of P.W. Avery)*, ed. Charles Melville, (Cambridge: Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge University and British Academic Press, 1990), 115-122, though he blurs the distinction between the primarily oral origins of the other narrative cycles he describes and the essentially urban bourgeois and literate origins of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadānī and al-Ḥarīrī, as evinced by the sophisticated and occasionally *recherché* vocabulary; the textuality of the text, much of which is based on learned and even visual puns of the Arabic script (*al-tajnīs al-muṣaḥḥaf*); and the early proliferation of illustrated manuscripts meant for viewing. For the manuscript tradition of *The 1001 Nights*, see the introduction to M. Mahdi, *The 1001 Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984) and also E. Littman, "Alf-Layla wa-Layla" in *ET*.

²⁹ C. E. Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, op. cit., 89-91. The poem itself is in praise of Abu Naṣr, the deputy governor of India, but contains a *do'ā* for "Shah" Širzād in the last line. Although Širzād briefly reigned as Sultan (Šawwāl 508/March 1115-Šawwāl 509/February 1116), this poem must date from the earlier days of Širzād's governorship in India during the

scurrilous verse, performed the serious and difficult feat of reciting one-third of the *Šāh-nāme*:

*har soxan k-u be-guyad az har dar
cun gohar bāyad-aš nešānd be-zar
majles-e šāh rā conān bāšad
keh badan rā laṭif jān bāšad
cun ze may del-š mast o xorram šod
jedd o hazl-aš tamām dar ham šod
ṭibat-i ṭorfeh dar miān afkand
solṣ-e Šāh-nāme dar zabān afkand
sātkini gereft o pas bar xāst
dowlat-e šah ze pāk yazdān xvāst³⁰*

Whatever words he [Abu Naṣr] says on whatever subject,
like pearls, deserve to be set in gold:
In the convivium of the Shah he is like
the sweet soul in the body;
When his heart grew drunk and light with wine
his levity and gravity became all mixed up,
He delivered a wondrous spectacle:
he recited a third of the *šāh-nāme*!
He took the chalice and then stood up
to ask the good Lord to grant the Shah a good fate

Though Mas'ud Sa'd describes this intoxicated recitation of the *Šāh-nāme* as unusual, one is nevertheless left to wonder if such mirthful recitation occasions did not contribute to the slurring of the text. In any case, it is clear from this anecdote that the sheer length of Ferdowsi's version of the epic of Iran presented something of an impediment to its reception.³¹ Despite or perhaps especially because of the

reign of Sultan Mas'ud III (492/1099-508/1115), as Mas'ud Sa'd applies the title "*solṭān*" to the actual head of the Ghaznavid empire; "Shah" appears to be a title for the Ghaznavid governor of India.

³⁰ *Divān-e Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān*, 565. See also the discussion in the introduction, xxxii-xxxiii.

³¹ It may also have presented difficulties for the scribes. One scribe has apparently added a line at the end of the story of Kay Xosrow indicating that half of the text is

fact that a great number of verses accrued to the text over the centuries after Ferdowsi died, there was a practical demand among defatigable readers for an abridged version. Perhaps the very incident described above led Mas'ud Sa'd to compile his abridged version of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, *Extiārāt-e Šāh-nāmeḥ* (*Selections from the Šāh-nāmeḥ*, no longer extant), which is the form 'Owfi, writing in about 614/1217, suggested his readers should approach Ferdowsi's work, the complete text of which was already estimated to contain 60,000 lines.³²

It is almost certain that a living tradition of recitation and the demands of particular audiences, perhaps as much as the changes introduced by the copyists who transmitted the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* in written form, contributed to the instability of the text of Ferdowsi's epic. After evaluating the 8th/14th century Mongol manuscripts, the period of all but two of the

now complete, and this has made its way into many manuscripts. See Shahbazi, 108, who cites the Moscow ed., 5:418n.6.

³² 'Owfi, *Lobāb al-albāb*, 2:33. Alternatively, it is possible that Abu Naṣr recited the entire abridgement made by Mas'ud Sa'd, which the latter estimated to contain one-third of the whole. The more reliable manuscripts of Ferdowsi's work contain a little over 50,000 lines, though some later editions do, indeed, have 60,000 or more lines; see Theodor Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 2nd ed. (Berlin/Leipzig, 1920), 73, quoted by Shahbazi, 107. The traditional length of 60,000 lines is apparently based upon Ferdowsi's own estimate, rather than a counting of the lines in any given manuscript; see B. Foruzānfar, *Soxan va soxanvarān*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Šerkat-e Sahāmi-ye Enteshārāt-e Xvārazmi, 1350/1971), 51. Naṣr Allāh Žiā al-Din ebn al-Aṣir (d. 630/1231) also estimated Ferdowsi's text, which he calls the Persian Koran (*Qur'ān-e 'ajam*) at 60,000 lines in his *al-Maṭāl al-šā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa'l-šā'ir* (Cairo, 1312/1895), 324 (cited by Shahbazi, 123).

earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Šāh-nāme*, Grabar and Blair sum up the textual condition of Ferdowsi's masterpiece as follows:

Almost all complete or fragmentary manuscripts from these dates are so significantly different from each other that the more likely conclusion may be that there are as many versions of the *Shahnama* as there were manuscripts.³³

Textūs Receptūs

Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum, in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus (Thou hast, therefore, the text now received by all, in which we give nothing altered or corrupted)

--Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir³⁴

For she was the maker of the song she sang.
The ever-hooded, tragic-gestured sea
was merely a place by which she walked to sing.
Whose spirit is this? we said, because we knew
It was the spirit that we sought and knew
That we should ask this often as she sang.

--Wallace Stevens, from "The Idea of Order at Key West"

The text-critical problems in the poetry of Sanā'ī are legion. Indeed, de Bruijn summarizes the textual state of Sanā'ī's *Divān* poetry as follows (*OPP*, 91):

The collection of poems commonly referred to as the *Dīvān* of Sanā'ī actually exists in many, often quite different forms....The contents of these volumes, as well as the ways in which the poems are arranged in each of them, differ so much that they can hardly be regarded as specimens of a single book. The term '*dīvān*' is, in this instance, essentially a collective noun only, designating a group of collections comprising more or less the same material.

³³ O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980), 2.

³⁴ From the preface to the Elzevir edition of the Greek New Testament, 2nd edition, Leiden, 1633. Cited in J. Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts: A Working Introduction to Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974), 58, ¶65.

B. Utas, building upon the conclusions of A. Ateş,³⁵ demonstrated in extensive detail that one of the *magnavi* poems traditionally attributed to Sanā'i, *Ṭariq al-tahqīq*, is by a much later author, probably Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naxjavāni.³⁶ Utas notes the tendency of the Persian biographical and literary historical tradition to ascribe didactic Sufi-oriented *magnavis* in the meter *xafif* to Sanā'i, while de Bruijn views this phenomenon as a process of deliberate pious forgery, in which evidence of the real author of a given poem is suppressed and/or specious references to the name of Sanā'i

³⁵ Ateş, "Senâ'î," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, v. 10, (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), 483. M. Qazvini had already expressed some doubt on this score in his notes to Nezāmi 'Aruzi, *Cahār maqāleh*, "ta'liqāt," 135.

³⁶ Bo Utas, *Ṭariq ut-tahqīq: A critical edition, with a history of the text and a commentary*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, #13 (Lund, Sweden: Studentlitteratur, 1973) and also his translation and statistical study of the same work, *A Persian Sufi Poem: Vocabulary and Terminology*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, #36 (London: Curzon Press, 1978). As for the dates of its probable author, al-Naxjavāni, Utas thinks it "fairly probable" that he lived some time in the 8th/14th century (*Ṭariq*, 134). Based upon a chronogram in the last line (*xatm-e in naẓm bar sa'ādat bād*, where the last three words equal 744 according to the Abjad system), which Utas at first failed to note. In his earlier discussion of the last 14 lines of his edition of the text of *Ṭariq al-tahqīq*, Utas considered their authenticity questionable (*Ṭariq*, 60, 124-5, and 53 of the Persian text). In his subsequent book, while the lines in question remained in brackets in his text of the poem, Utas' doubts about the authenticity of these lines seem to have been dispelled in his introduction to "the investigated text" (*Persian Sufi Poem*, 8-9 and again 53 of the Persian text). Utas here considers the poem "chronologically fixed," arguing on the basis of the last line that it must date from 744/1343-4, and that the two oldest manuscripts, dating from about 150 years after its composition, must both stem from an archetype transcribed about 70 years after the original.

appended.³⁷ The works mistakenly or wrongfully attributed to Sanā'i include the so-called *Ġarib-nāmeḥ* or *Bahrām o Behruz*, which is actually an abridgement of the variously titled *Behruz o Bahrām* or *Bāḡ-e Eram* of Kamāl al-Din Banā'i (d. 918/1512);³⁸ the '*Ešq-nāmeḥ*, a 579-line *magnavī* which is not, in fact, a separate work, but rather a "slightly abridged version of the poem *Konuz al-asrār va romuz al-aḥrār*, probably composed by 'Ezz al-Din Maḥmud Kāšāni, d. 735/1335," the latter poem itself being a verse commentary on Aḥmad Ġazzāli's

³⁷ Utaṣ, *Ṭarīq*, 130-32 and de Bruijn, *OPP*, 113-14. Utaṣ affirms the view of Ateş, "Senâ'î," 483, that it is unlikely a work by a famous Sufi would be wrongly attributed to an unknown poet, while it is quite possible that an obscure poet's work would be attributed to a famous Sufi. This may generally be true, but if a given work by a well-known author was rare and not widely known, it is conceivable that a little-known poet or writer could happen across an old manuscript of it, copy it out anew and claim authorship for himself.

³⁸ Ateş, "Senâ'î," 483; Utaṣ, *Ṭarīq*, 17, 75-8, 132; de Bruijn, *OPP*, 114. As Utaṣ points out, the appellation *Ġarib-nāmeḥ* stems from Hermann Ethé, who guessed that this poem was identical to a *Gharib-nāmeḥ* mentioned in the *Haft Eqlim* as a work of Sanā'i (perhaps based upon a misreading of *Sanā'i* for *Banā'i*). Ateş (483) first recognized it as a work of Kamāl al-Din Bannā'i [sic]; de Bruijn, following Ateş, gives Ban(n)ā'i [sic], whereas Utaṣ (*Ṭarīq* 77), following A. Mirzoev (*Binoi*, Stalinabad, 1957; and according to de Bruijn (268n5) in a Russian translation, *Kamal ad-Din Binai*, Moscow, 1976; for a summary of Mirzoev's book, see J. Bečka in Rypka, *History*, 497-500), gives his name as "Maulānā Kamāl ud-dīn 'Alī Šīr b. Ustād Muḥammad-Xān Mi'mār Haravī with the *taxalluṣ* Binā'ī (or Bannā'ī/Banā'ī) as well as *Hālī* (killed in the massacre by the army of Shah Isma'īl in Samarqand, 918 A.H.= 1512 A.D)." Banā'i himself, in a treatise on music (w. 888/1483), a copy of which survives in his own hand, calls himself "'Alī ebn Moḥammad al-Me'mār, known as al-Banā'i;" See his *Resāleh dar musiḡi*, 2.

Savāneh;³⁹ the *Sanā'i-ābād*, a 549-line *masnavi* probably written by a poet called 'Abbāsi in the 9th/16th century, though the title seems to be taken from one of Sanā'i's epithets for his own *Hadiqat*;⁴⁰ and the '*Aql-nāmeḥ*, a 242-line poem which Modarres-e Rażavi felt was certainly an authentic work of Sanā'i,⁴¹ though Utas later expressed some doubt,⁴² and de Bruijn now confidently rejects.⁴³ de Bruijn also rejects a 103-line *masnavi* entitled *Tahrimat al-qalam*⁴⁴

³⁹ Utas, *Ṭarīq*, 17, 33, 53-4, 78-81. In A. Golcin-e Ma'āni's edition of Kāšāni's *Konuz al-asrār*, published in *Majalleh-ye Dāneš-kadeh-ye Adabiāt-e Tabriz*, 14:3 (1345-6/1966-7):329-51 and 14:4 (1346/1967):494-522, there are 664 lines. Modarres-e Rażavi, who eventually realized that this poem was not by Sanā'i, had prepared an edition based on manuscripts lacking the first 83 lines which was attributed to Sanā'i. This version is published in *Masnaviāt-e Hākim Sanā'i*, 17-47, where, however, the false ascription to Sanā'i is noted in the introduction, iv.-vi.

⁴⁰ The actual title of this poem appears to be the *Salvat-nāmeḥ*. See Utas, *Ṭarīq*, 17, 21, 81-86, 131; de Bruijn, *Piety and Poetry*, 114; Modarres-e Rażavi, *Masnavi-hā*, x-xi, xxxiii-xxxvi, 49-80. Mojtabā Minovi was apparently the first to call into question the ascription of this work to Sanā'i; see his article "Dar-bāreh-ye *Tahrimat al-qalam*-e Hākim Sanā'i," *Farhang-e Irān-zamin* 5 (1336/1957): 5-15, specifically 7-8.

⁴¹ *Masnavi-hā*, iv, xxvii-xxix, 1-15. His precise wording (iv) is "dar nesbat-e ān be-Hākim jā-ye šakk va tardid nist."

⁴² Utas, *Ṭarīq*, 81-2, 131. He argues (81) that "it cannot be definitely settled that this poem is an original composition by Sanā'i," and ventures the "guess" (82n1) that it is an imitation of *Sayr al-'ebād* by another poet, written by a contemporary or near contemporary of Sanā'i.

⁴³ de Bruijn, *OPP*, 114-17.

⁴⁴ First introduced by M. Minovi, "Dar-bāreh-ye masnavi-ye *Tahrimat al-qalam*," *Farhang-e Irān-zamin* 5 (1336/1957):5-15; and published again in *Masnavi-hā*, xi, xxxvi-xlii; and *Kolliāt*, 276-9, and in Māyel Haravi, "*Tahrimat al-qalam*,"

which he feels was composed, along with the *'Aql-nāmeḥ*, by an anonymous scribe and editor of Sanā'i's collected works, perhaps the copyist of the Velieddin manuscript of 684/1285.⁴⁵ Thus, of the eight *magnavis* attributed to Sanā'i, only the *Kār-nāmeḥ-ye Balx* (491 lines),⁴⁶ the *Sayr al-'ebād* (799 lines),⁴⁷ and the *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqiqeh* are now thought to be authentic by scholars who have examined the text history. As in the case of Ferdowsi, the manuscript tradition preserves various authorial stages of the *Ḥadiqat*. Sanā'i apparently circulated the various chapters or portions of the book as separate albums, or as a work in progress, perhaps in

Āryānā (Anjoman-e Tārix-e Afġānestān) 25:2 (Series #270, 1346/1967):71-75.

⁴⁵ de Bruijn, *OPP*, 115-17.

⁴⁶ See Modarres-e Rażavi's edition of the poem in *Magnavi-hā*, 141-78, and the earlier version of the poem by the same editor in "Kār-nāmeḥ-ye Balxi, *aṣar-e Sanā'i-ye Ġaznavi*," *Farhang-e Irān-zamin*, 3 (1334/1955): 297-366, in which there are 494 lines (errors in enumerating the lines are made on pages 332, 337, 341 and 349). Note that Modarres-e Rażavi uses a late manuscript as the copy text, whereas the very early Baġdatlı Vehbi manuscript (no. 1672, Istanbul, dated 552/1157), contains only 433 lines. See de Bruijn, *OPP*, 117-18, (note the slight error in citation of the *Farhang-e Irān-zamin* edition, 286).

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 179-233. Once again, the earliest manuscript, the Baġdatlı Vehbi *Kolliāt* (no. 1672, Istanbul), there are only 742 lines. The headings and the names of some rather more famous poets (Moxtāri and Abu Ḥanifeḥ Eskāfi), have been added to the text. See de Bruijn, *OPP*, 117-18 (N.B. also 124, where de Bruijn gives 712 as the number of lines of the Baġdatlı Vehbi manuscript). C.f. also the editions prepared by S. Nafisi, *Sayr al-'ebād elā al-ma'ād*, (Tehran, 1316/1937) and by R. Māyel-e Haravi, *Sayr al-'ebād elā al-ma'ād*, (Kabul: Mo'asseseh-ye Enteshārāt-e Bayhaqi, Mizān 1356/ September-October 1977).

the study classes of the *'ulamā* and the *majāles* of the Sufis. There are two references in the *Hadiqat* itself to the text being 10,000 lines long and one other, arrived at from the gematria of the Muslim creed, to 12,000.⁴⁸ Some manuscripts contain 5000, some 6000 and some more than 10,000 lines.⁴⁹

It would appear that these manuscripts reflect both various stages of the authorial text and also the vagaries of the scribal tradition and the book market: the copyist in some manuscripts was not intent on transmitting the book as a whole, but on providing various parts and pieces of it, perhaps in conjunction with other works by other authors, to illustrate a given theme, as in a florilegium. For example, the worm-eaten India Office Library manuscript (no. 1444), copied by Faẓl Allāh ebn Moḥammad ebn 'Omar ebn 'Osmān al-Ṣufi in Jomādā II 637/January 1240 apparently collected portions of a variety of didactic *magnavi* in one book; it contains portions of Nezāmi's *Maxzan al-asrār*, Mo'ayyad al-Nasafi's *Nasim al-ṣabā* and *Pahlavān-nāmeḥ*,⁵⁰ as well as parts of

⁴⁸ *Hadiqat al-ḥaqiqat va šari'at al-ṭariqat*, ed. M. T. Modarres-e Rażavi, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Tehrān, 1359/1980), LJ-LH.

⁴⁹ *Hadiqat*, op. cit., LB-LH and de Bruijn, *OPP*, 120ff.

⁵⁰ He is called "Ostād al-šo'arā Mo'ayyad al-Din al-Nasafi" by 'Owfi, who describes his *Divān* as difficult to come by (*Lobāb*, 2:359-62). According to Ṣafā (*Tārix-e adabiāt*, 2:667-69), Nasafi was a court poet of the Qarakhanids, specifically Jalāl al-Din 'Ali (r. 551/1156-556/1161 ?), whose name is mentioned in one of his poems. Nasafi's son, Šehāb al-Din Aḥmad ben al-Mo'ayyad al-Samarqandi, was also a poet. The *nisbah* of Samarqandi (*Lobāb*, 2:362; and Ṣafā, 2:769-74) would indicate that he or his

Sanā'i's *Kār-nāmeḥ*, *Sayr al-'ebād* and about 6000 lines of his *Ḥadiqat*.⁵¹ The manuscript must have been re-bound at some time by a careless hand, or one ignorant of the contents, for the current sequence of the folios intersperses pages of one work with those of another (e.g., the *Ḥadiqat* portions appear on folios 33a-74b, 77a-93b, 117 and 121a-137b). de Bruijn, who has examined the manuscript *de visu*, indicates that this particular collection most definitely did at one time contained the full text of these works;⁵² in many cases, however, it can be difficult to know whether manuscripts (especially those from later centuries) containing partial works are missing pages or were deliberately compiled by the scribe as a miscellany of excerpts of various works.⁵³ For example, Eskandar Solṭān (Mirzā) ebn 'Omar Šayx, a grandson of Tamerlane and patron of the arts at Shiraz where he ruled until 818/1415, had a predilection for anthologies and miscellanies, as reflected in at least eight surviving illustrated manuscripts prepared for him at Shiraz, Isfahan

father were from that city. For these reasons, de Bruijn (*OPP*, 126) speculates that the India Office manuscript must have originated in Transoxania.

⁵¹ de Bruijn, *OPP*, 125.

⁵² *ibid.*, and also in a letter to the present writer, dated 10 February 1995.

⁵³ For a few examples of composite manuscripts besides those mentioned below, see N. Titley, *Miniatures From Persian Manuscripts*, 38-40.

and Yazd between 800/1397 and 816/1414.⁵⁴ One of these manuscripts, a pocket-size volume which Robinson proposes was a *vade mecum* on Eskandar Solṭān's travels and campaigns, contains a diverse tetralogy of 1) a few poems on astronomical and -logical themes, 2) the episodes of the black and green pavilions from Nezāmi's *Haft paykar*, 3) a portion of the same poet's *Eskandar-nāmeḥ*, and 4) some of the ghazals of Rumi.⁵⁵

Most of the section headings in the India Office *Hadiqat* (ms no. 1444) are in Arabic, despite its suspected origin in Transoxania.⁵⁶ While it is not surprising to find Arabic titles in the *Hadiqat*, a work of Islamic poetry, it seems noteworthy to find them in the Iranian national epic, the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* (as we do in the Florence *Šāh-nāmeḥ* manuscript; see below), famous for the sparseness of its Arabic vocabulary. One might surmise from this fact that titles in Persian poetic manuscripts were commonly written in Arabic at least up until the Mongol overthrow of the Caliphate, in which case, the exceptions to this tendency might furnish some indication

⁵⁴ B. W. Robinson, "Two Illustrated Manuscripts in the Malek Library, Tehran" in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla Soucek, (University Park, Penns.: The College Art Association of America, 1988), 91-103.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 91-2, 94. The small manuscript (13.5 x 9 cm, with the *nasta'liq* text on a writing surface of 8.75 X 6 cm), copied by a Maḥmud Qoṭb, is in the Malek Library in Tehran (no. 5932). Some of the other manuscripts in this group are also pocket-size.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 125-6.

about the intended audience of a manuscript with Persian titles, or at least illustrate a conceptual shift in the status of Persian as a language of intellectual exposition as well as poetry.

'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abbāsi (d. 1048 or 1049/1638 or 1639), who had access to a manuscript of Sanā'i's *Hadiqat* from Ghazna dating to within eighty years of the poet's death, a copy 'Abbāsi dismissed as quite poor, made an edition of and wrote an excellent commentary on Sanā'i's long *magnavi*.⁵⁷ He noted the divergence in the manuscript tradition and accounted for it accordingly: Sanā'i sent a draft or foul copy (*mosavvadāt*) to a certain Shaykh Abu Yusof or, as is more likely, to Borhān al-Din Beryāngar in Baghdad, one of Sanā'i's patrons, to look over and make corrections and suggestions about the book's arrangement. This process was delayed and, in the meantime, Sanā'i's pupils (*ṭālebān*; undoubtedly many people, whether pupils, religious officials, Sufis, or courtiers, had heard parts of the poem orally) importuned him for copies. He therefore made a draft version (*Hakim tartib-i dād*), which he circulated in foul copy, but many people who obtained this draft made a fair copy for themselves, arranging the material as they saw fit.⁵⁸

According to the poem's introduction, variously ascribed

⁵⁷ de Bruijn, *OPP*, 121-2.

⁵⁸ Cited by Modarres-e Rażavi in *Hadiqat*, LJ.

to the poet himself or to Moḥammad ebn 'Alī al-Raffā',⁵⁹ we are told that at some point, unnamed individuals, having succumbed to Satanic promptings (*be-ḥokm-e vasvaseh dar miān-e del-ešān*), desired in their jealousy to obstruct the collection or effective publication of the work (*az ru-ye ḥasad in ketāb rā motafarreq konand*) and therefore took

⁵⁹ In Modarres-e Rażavi's first edition (1329/1950) of the *Ḥadiqat*, he printed a prose introduction ascribed to al-Raffā' (1-26), presumably made shortly after the poet's death, along with a separate introduction ascribed to Sanā'i (26-57), which is usually found in manuscripts of the *Divān*, not of the *Ḥadiqat*. In Modarres-e Rażavi, *Ta'liqāt-e Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqiqeh* (Tehran: Mo'asseseh-ye Maṭbu'āt-e 'Elmi, 1344/1965), xii-xiii and 1-19, an introduction prepared on the basis of the Velieddin, the Kabul and a manuscript (Istanbul, Fâtiḥ #3734) written in 884/1480 by Golšani-ye Haravi, is ascribed directly to Sanā'i. This is quite similar to the introduction earlier ascribed to al-Raffā', only now purporting to be the words of Sanā'i in the first person. Modarres-e Rażavi remained convinced it was from the pen of Sanā'i in the second edition (1359/1981) of *Ḥadiqat* (pp. 1 and 3-29 in the preface preceding the table of contents). de Bruijn identifies three distinct introductions, the first being that of al-Raffā' ("Dībāča I.R.", as given in the first edition of *Ḥadiqat*), which is basically reliable and gives an authentic picture of the textual tradition from shortly after the poet's death; the second being a pseudepigraphical forgery adapted from the introduction by al-Raffā' to pass as Sanā'i's own text ("Dībāča I.S.", the text as given in *Ta'liqāt* and *Ḥadiqat*, 2nd ed.); and finally an introduction to the *Divān*, which may be the authentic words of Sanā'i ("Dībāča II.S."); see OPP, 140-42. Despite de Bruijn's feeling that "Dībāča I.S." **must** be a document deliberately forged by a later editor from al-Raffā's text to make it look like Sanā'i's own words, there is an alternative explanation. Sanā'i surely prepared at least one introduction, in addition to the epilogue, for the various stages of the poem which he "published" during his lifetime. al-Raffā' must have based his introduction partly on bits and pieces of an existing authorial introduction. A later copyist or editor working from an authorial version of Sanā'i and from al-Raffā's introduction, detecting a certain intertextuality might have mistaken al-Raffā's text for a longer version of Sanā'i's own introduction and altered it accordingly. In other words, "Dībāča I.S." is not necessarily a deliberate forgery.

several portions or quires (*jovī cand az in ketāb*) without permission (*bi-farmān*), which could not be retrieved for some period of time.⁶⁰ With the intervention of a certain Moḥammad Ṭāher al-Ḥosayni, who probably had the backing of the Ghaznavid state or the Shiite community, the text was recovered, either during the poet's life or shortly after his death.⁶¹ al-Raffā' indicates that a draft copy (*mosavvadeh*)

⁶⁰ *Ḥadiqat*, 2nd ed., introduction to the 2nd ed. (appears before the table of contents), 17-18, as well as the version in the introduction to the first edition (after the table of contents), 17-18. It is possible that al-Raffā' prepared more than one edition of the *Ḥadiqat*, and more than one version of his introduction, before and after retrieving the missing portions of the work. This might help account for some of the divergences in the manuscript tradition.

⁶¹ The wording *farmān* might refer to a royal edict, rather the permission of the poet, meaning perhaps that parts of the manuscript were taken from the royal library or scriptorium at Ghazna illicitly--that is without a formal edict from Bahrām-šāh, to whom the book was dedicated, or the head librarian. The pilfered quires may, alternatively, have been in the poet's home, but because of the panegyric dedication to the Shah, might be considered the possession of the state. This would help account for the text being returned rather than destroyed; if the texts were purloined out of class interest (e.g., to suppress the *Ḥadiqat*'s castigation of the clerics and courtiers), or as Modarres-e Rażavi suggests, in umbrage at Sanā'i's Shi'i sympathies or certain of his jurisprudential positions (*Ḥadiqat*, L-LA; note that the *Montaxab al-tavārix* of 'Abd al-Qāder Badā'uni [w. 999/1590-1004/1596] even recounts that Sanā'i was imprisoned on this score), it is unlikely that the text would have been returned solely on the basis of the poet's own request. That Moḥammad Ṭāher al-Ḥosayni, apparently the leader of the Sayyids of Ghazna and therefore probably a Shiite, was able to recover the missing text suggests that interests larger and more powerful than the poet himself were involved. Indeed, if this episode is recounted in al-Raffā's own words, then the missing portions were stolen and returned after the poet's death, when they might have been considered the property of Bahrām-šāh. This would accommodate the dating of the preparation of al-Raffā's edition of the manuscript to 527/1133 (*Ḥadiqat*, 2nd ed., preface before the table of contents, 13), two years post *auctorem mortuum*.

of 10,000 lines was sent to Baghdad for Borhān al-Din's inspection (*ān-ce gofteh bud qorb-e dah hezār bayt-e mosavvadeh be-Baġdād ferestād*), and Sanā'i, shortly before he died, had a (fair?) copy of a portion of that which remained in his possession made up (*va ān-ce be-dast-e u be-mānd bayt-i cand nosxat dād*).⁶² As we shall see below ("Is there a Message in the Medium?"), it was probably quite common for a book to be composed in a piecemeal process like this and the work remained in progress at the time of Sanā'i's death. Assuming that he had received the comments of Borhān al-Din and had time to incorporate them, a further authorial edition of the *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqīqat* would have been prepared.

Indeed, it was probably quite common for a poet to continue revising a long work like this right up until his death and for it to be compiled post-humously by a pupil, a friend, or a textual community. It is the textual paradigm of the Koran, which, according to the *Ḥadīṭ*, was left unassembled at the time of Muḥammad's death, existed in more than one recension prior to 'Uṭmān's recension, and has not survived in its entirety.⁶³ It is likewise the textual paradigm 800 years later of the *Divān* of Ḥāfeẓ, who reportedly ignored his friends' repeated requests to collect his poems into a single book. Though many of Ḥāfeẓ' poems certainly existed in

⁶² *Ḥadiqat*, 18 (after table of contents).

⁶³ See J. Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), esp. 117ff.

versions written down by various auditors or were circulated in the form of written albums, they were not all collected into a *Divān* until after his death by his friend, Moḥammad Golandām, who apparently did not have access to all the existing poems.⁶⁴

A piecemeal composition process; the "publication" of at least one authorial version, which was subsequently greatly expanded by Sanā'i, who, however, died without making a final author's copy; the existence of several partial or complete recensions of the work; the admixture of these various textual strains; the errors of copyists; all these undoubtedly contributed to the complexity of the textual tradition of the *Hadiqat al-haqiqat*, which is arguably more confused than that of Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāmeḥ*. Major J. Stephenson, who produced an edition and translation of the first chapter of the *Hadiqat* in 1908, while acknowledging that further research was needed, doubted the possibility of re-creating the original text in view of the early and extensive confusion of the manuscript tradition.⁶⁵ Finding it impossible to collate the various manuscripts, Stephenson decided to follow the editorial principle of rearranging the lines according to what made logical sense to him, even if it was not in accord with any

⁶⁴ *Divān-e Hāfez*, op. cit., 2:1117ff. See also Šafā, 3/2:1082.

⁶⁵ Stephenson, ed. and trans., *The First Book of the Hadīqatu'l-Haqīqat or the Enclosed Garden of the Truth*, (New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1908), iv. The account he gives of the manuscript history is quite insightful and useful.

existing manuscript:

...probably no MS. at the present day, or at any rate none of those examined by me, retains the original order of the author; and I felt justified in proceeding as I had begun, altering the order of the lines, and even of the sections, if by so doing a meaning or a logical connection could be brought out. I need not say that the present edition has no claims to represent Sanā'ī's original; probably it does not represent it even approximately....⁶⁶

de Bruijn summarizes the transmission history of the *Hadiqat* thus:

It is evident that the differences between the manuscripts cannot be attributed to the vicissitudes of the textual tradition of a well-established original. The disorder must have its roots in the formative stage of the poem itself. From the very beginning a variety of recensions must have been in existence which by means of a continuing process of amalgamation has resulted in the great divergence of the extant copies.⁶⁷

Not only were different editions of the work circulating, they circulated under different titles: in addition to *Hadiqat al-ḥaqiqat va šari'at al-ṭariqat*, a name apparently given by Sanā'ī, al-Raffā' refers to it as the *Faxri-nāmeḥ* and *Sanā'ī-ābād*,⁶⁸ whereas Jalāl al-Din Rumi (6 Rabī' I 604/30 Sept. 1207 - 5 Jomādā II 672/17 Dec. 1273) refers to it as the

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, xxi. Note that this is similar to the principle followed by Šāmlu in his version of *Hāfez*, for which he was roundly criticized. While this procedure certainly creates a text that is organized differently than the author would have done so, it has the virtue of making accessible (as does an abridgement, a translation or a colorized version of an old black-and-white film) a work which might otherwise go unread and unappreciated by a modern audience.

⁶⁷ *OPP*, 119-20. See also the remarks of Modarres-e Rażavi, *Hadiqat*, LB-LJ.

⁶⁸ de Bruijn sees the *Faxri-nāmeḥ* as a title and *Sanā'ī-ābād* only as a metaphorical description.

Elāhi-nāmeḥ (probably a generic title for a religious book).⁶⁹ Although Modarres-e Rażavi and de Bruijn feel that *Faxri-nāmeḥ* must refer to an honorific of Bahrāmšāh,⁷⁰ I think it rather alludes to the fact that Sanā'i considered himself a poet of religion and the soul, in contradistinction to the worldliness of a court poet, who would glory in his patron. Thus, Sanā'i's glory (*faxr*) is not in his association with a particular worldly patron, but in his association with religion, the things of the spirit, and with God (recall the meaning of his pen-name--"the illuminated"). This theme is frequent in the *Divān* (see Chapter Two) and also appears in many lines of the *Hadiqat*:

ay Sanā'i co šar` dād-at bār
 dast az in šā`eri o še`r be-dār
 šar` didi ze še`r del be-gosel
 keh gedā'i na-kārad andar del

soxan-e šā`erān hameh gamz ast
 nokteh-ye anbiā hameh ramz ast⁷¹

O Sanā'i, since religion has given you an audience,
 wash your hands of poetry and its profession.

⁶⁹ Modarres-e Rażavi, *Hadiqat*, LA-LB; de Bruijn, *OPP*, 127-8.

⁷⁰ Modarres-e Rażavi, *Hadiqat*, introduction, LA and de Bruijn, *OPP*, 127. Note that Sanā'i does not call Bahrām-šāh by the title *Faxr* or *Faxr al-Dowleh* in the *Hadiqat* or the *Divān*, where the king's name usually occurs in the context of astronomical imagery. He is several times called Yamin al-Dowleh, a well-attested honorific of Bahrām-šāh, and it would be expected that, had Sanā'i wanted a short title in his honor, he would have chosen *Yamini-* or *Yamin-nāmeḥ*, not *Faxri-nāmeḥ*.

⁷¹ *Hadiqat*, 743:4-5, 9.

Having seen the way of religion,
 free your heart from poetry
 lest it inure your heart to beggary

The speech of poets is but coquetry,
 the words of the Prophets, profound mystery.

še`r-e man šarḥ-e šar` o din bāšād
*šā`er-e rāst-guy in bāšād*⁷²

My poetry is a commentary on religion and belief;
 this is what a truthful poet is.

dar sarā'-i keh makr o fann dārad
*tāzegi gofteh-hā-ye man dārad*⁷³

In a world of deceit and artifice
 it is my words that are unique.

The *Hadiqat*, though containing panegyrical dedications to Bahrāmšāh, is essentially a testimony to the poet's unique combination of religion, or piety, and poetry (*šar` va še`r*), which no one prior to Sanā'i had essayed. Sanā'i thereby made for himself a lasting literary monument in which his name would live forever:

andar in dowlāt az pay-ye yād-i
*kardam aknun Sanā'i-ābād-i*⁷⁴

In this realm, as a memento,
 I have now completed an illuminated abode,
 "the city of Sanā'i."

In al-Raffā's introduction, the composition of the *Hadiqat* is said to be an offering of thanks for the poet's spiritual orientation or state of grace (*šokrāneh-ye in tarbiat rā*), not granted to everyone. al-Raffā' insists that no one from the

⁷² *ibid.*, 725:11.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 715:13.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 709:6.

days of Adam to Sanā'i's time had composed such a book, a source of obvious pride (*faxr*) for the poet, the title of which is *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqiqat va šari'at al-ṭariqat*.⁷⁵ Thus, although as de Bruijn shows, many of the early manuscripts bear the title *Faxri-nāmeḥ*, this should be understood, like *Sanā'i-ābād*, as a description, rather than as a title, of a work show-casing the poet's pride in God rather than in a patron.⁷⁶

As in the case of Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, the sheer length of the text of the *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqiqat*, which contains about 11,500 lines in the recension of Modarres-e Rażavi,⁷⁷ required too much stamina of the average reader and was therefore often approached in an abridged form. It has therefore been prepared in several abridgements through the centuries, including the *Montaxab al-ḥadiqat*, which seems to designate more than one such selection, and the *Laṭifat al-'erfān*, probably compiled by Dā'i-ye Širāzi (d. c. 870/1466)

⁷⁵ *Ḥadiqat*, 16. C.f., 17, prior to the table of contents.

⁷⁶ *OPP*, 127-9.

⁷⁷ *Ḥadiqat*, introduction LJ-LH. See the review of H. Ritter "Kitāb-i Ḥadīqat....", *Oriens*, 5 (1952): 190-192, and the comments of de Bruijn, *OPP*, 123. While the criticisms given are not inaccurate, it seems to me that considering the objective of the editor--to make available for modern readers an important work with an extremely confused manuscript history in a composite (though not rigorously critical) edition--Ritter's reaction, in particular, to the edition is somewhat harsh. While pointing out its faults, de Bruijn acknowledges that the comprehensiveness of this "vulgate" edition makes it a convenient point of departure for further textual research.

as a further paring, in about 1000 lines, of a previous abridgement, which at least one reader had still found too long.⁷⁸ At least two modern abridgements, supported by notes and glossary to aid the reader, have been published.⁷⁹ The previously mentioned 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abbāsi authored a lengthy commentary (which, like the poem, also circulated in an abridged form) called *Laṭā'ef al-ḥadā'eq men nafā'es al-daḡā'eq* and there was also an anonymous glossary in verse, titled *Meftāḥ al-ḥadiqeh*, composed in 1020/1612, at the height of a literary revival of Sanā'i's works.⁸⁰

In a further parallel to the text of Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, the bulk of Sanā'i's oeuvre, at least as far as the opuscula (i.e., the minor *magnaviāt*) are concerned, has swelled through the centuries, from three authentic *magnavis* to six, to form the *Setteh-ye Sanā'i*, or "Sextet of Sanā'i," a canon mentioned by Sanā'i's biographers beginning in the 11th/17th century, though the lexicographer Moḥammad Lād-e Dehlavi, writing c. 925/1520, was apparently the first to have mentioned the "Setteh-ye Sanā'i" (without, however, elaborating the contents). A century later, however, the biographer Taqī al-Dīn Owḥadī mentions only five *magnavi*

⁷⁸ OPP, 121, and Modarres-e Rażavi, *Hadiqat*, LH-LV.

⁷⁹ Modarres-e Rażavi, ed., *Montaxab-e Hadiqat al-ḥaqiqeh va šari'at al-ṭariqeh*, 2nd printing, (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1364/1985), 177pp., and 'A. Hoquqi, ed., *Gozideh-ye hadiqat al-ḥaqiqeh va šari'at al-ṭariqeh az Sanā'i-ye Ghaznavi*, 4th printing, (Tehran?:Entešārāt-e Hiromand, 1372/1993), 87pp.

⁸⁰ OPP, 121.

associated with Sanā'i in his *'Arafāt al-'āšeqin* (completed in 1024/1615).⁸¹ Once Sanā'i's canon was said to contain five or six works this had an interesting impact on the transmission history; several manuscripts dating from this point forward contain collections of five or seven *magnavis* (in the latter case, the *Hadiqat* is apparently not counted among the "six", but as an additional work) attributed to Sanā'i, whereas prior to the 11th/17th century, with the exception of the Velieddin manuscript, which contains five *magnavis* (including the *Hadiqat*), the *masnaviāt* attributed to Sanā'i tended to be found grouped in miscellaneous manuscripts with other shorter works by other authors,⁸² evidently not recognized as a unified canon. It is only in the last thirty years or so that the rising textual tide of the oeuvre of Sanā'i and pseudo-Sanā'i has receded somewhat as the manuscript tradition has come under closer critical scrutiny. One therefore approaches the received text of the *Divān* with a certain amount of trepidation, wondering whether this corpus has likewise been engorging.

We do know that Sanā'i was famous during his own life, and his poems are quoted or his name mentioned in the works of several near-contemporaries, including Rašid al-Din Maybodi, who quotes a couple hundred lines of Sanā'i's poetry in his

⁸¹ *OPP*, 113-14. See also Utas, *Ṭariq*, 78n3, and the other works referenced there.

⁸² *OPP*, 95-98, 104, 123-127 and Utas, *Ṭariq*, 11-109.

Tafsir (begun 520/1126), without mentioning Sanā'i by name;⁸³ Suzani (d. 562/1167 or 569/1174), for whom Sanā'i is a favorite target of satire and invective;⁸⁴ and Abu al-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh Monši, who includes an entire story from Sanā'i's *Hadiqat* in his version of *Kalileh va Demneh*, written for Bahrāmšāh circa 538-40/1144-6.⁸⁵ Therefore, his poetry was obviously circulating in some form during his lifetime. It would be very useful to compile a chronological register of known manuscripts of the corpus of writings by Sanā'i (and pseudo-Sanā'i), and correlate the total number of lines and poems in these manuscripts with the history of Sanā'i's reception, as it is reflected in literary and Sufi anthologies, as well as in the works of other poets. de Bruijn and Utas have already provided an excellent synopsis of this sort, from which Table 1 was compiled to give a brief indication of the history, variety, and disparity in the textual tradition of Sanā'i:

⁸³ M. Minovi, "Dekr-e jamil-e Sa'di," *Iran Nameh* 3:4 (summer 1985): 672-3 and originally published in *Yağmā* 5:3 (Xordād 1331/1952): 97-102.

⁸⁴ *Divān-e Ḥakim Suzani-ye Samarqandi*, ed. Nāṣer al-Din Šāh-Ḥosayni, (Tehran?: Amir Kabir, 1338/1959), xxii-xxiv.

⁸⁵ *Kalileh va Demna*, ed. Mojtabā Minovi, (Tehran, 1964), 288ff.

TABLE 1: PARTIAL OUTLINE OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CORPUS OF WORKS ASCRIBED TO SANĀ'I

DATE	DESCRIPTION	ORG.
552/1157	<i>Magnaviāt</i> , Istanbul, Bağdatlı Vehbi, <i>nasx</i> , <i>Had.</i> 5000 lns., S. 712 lns., K. 433 lns.	HSK
588/1192	<i>Hadiqat</i> , Chicago, Halil Inalcik, <i>nasx</i> , 100ff, 3800 lns.	H
6th/12th-8th/14thC	<i>Kolliāt</i> , Kabul, Kabul Museum, <i>nasx</i> somewhat similar to <i>solṣ</i> , Div. on ff. 151a-325a.	HSKt-DG
637/1240	<i>Mas.</i> , London, India Office Lib., 6000 lines of <i>Had.</i> in fragments.	HKS
683/1281	<i>Had.</i> , Manchester, John Rylands Lib., <i>nasx</i> , 610pp, 10,000 lines.	H
684/1285	<i>Kol.</i> , Istanbul, Velieddin, Div. on ff. 122a-293a.	Ht-DT
687/1286	<i>Had.</i> , Heidelberg, University Lib., <i>nasx</i> , 294ff.	H
7th/13thC?	Div., Mašhad, Ketāb-xāneh-ye Melli-ye Malek, <i>nasx</i> , 198ff.	DT
717/1318	Selection, Istanbul, Halet Effendi, 5 folios with poems from the <i>Divān</i> .	
c.727/1327	Sel., Istanbul, Halet Effendi, 27ff from <i>Divān</i> .	
730/1330	Sel., Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 22ff fr. Div.	S
758/1357	<i>Had.</i> , Tehran, Majles-e šurā, <i>nasx</i> , 485pp.	H
8th/14thC?	<i>Kol.</i> , Tehran, Ketāb-xāneh-ye Melli-ye Farhang, <i>nasx</i> , <i>Divān</i> on pp21-373.	LSKH-DTG
884/1480	<i>Mas.</i> , Istanbul, Fâtih Ms, descendant of Velieddin, but lacking <i>Divān</i> .	
995/1587	Sel., Tehran, M. Bayāni.	
1006/1598	<i>Kol.</i> , London, India Office, Div. on ff. 23b-364b.	LSK-DAT
1007/1598	<i>Kol.</i> , Oxford, Bodleian, Div. from ff 1b-263a.	DA
10th/16thC	Div., Bankipore, 96ff.	A
10th/16thC	Div., London, Br. Mus., <i>nasta'liq</i> , 302ff.	
10th/16th-11th/17thC	<i>Kol.</i> , Calcutta, Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, <i>Divān</i> on ff6-276.	
1020/1612	Div. and <i>Had.</i> , Mašhad, Ketāb-xāneh-ye Melli-ye Malek	HD
1023/1615	<i>Kol.</i> , London, Br. Mus., <i>Divān</i> on ff. 42b-76a.	DA

TABLE 1, CONTINUED: PARTIAL OUTLINE OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CORPUS OF WORKS ASCRIBED TO SANĀ'I

DATE	DESCRIPTION	ORG.
11th/17thC or later	<i>Qaṣā'ed</i> , Calcutta, Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, dating based on description of script as <i>šekasteh</i> ; if <i>šekasteh-ta'liq</i> , it might be as early as 9th/15th century.	G
11th/17thC	<i>Mas.</i> , London: India Office, <i>nasx</i> , also has three pseudo-Sanā'i <i>masnavis</i> .	HtSK
unknown	<i>Div.</i> , Calcutta, Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, <i>nasta'liq</i> .	
unknown	<i>Div.</i> , Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, <i>nasta'liq</i> , 182ff.	T
1262/1846	<i>Mas.</i> , Tehran?, coll. of M.T. Bahār.	HtSK
1274/1858	<i>Div.</i> , Tehran lithograph, 274pp.	AG
1286/1870	Sel. of <i>Div.</i> , Tehran, Ketāb-xāneh-ye Melli, 91ff. poems with Sufi content.	T
1328/1910	<i>Div.</i> , Bombay lithograph, 242pp.	AG
1336š/1957	<i>Div.</i> , Moṣaffā ed., 880pp, 13,472 lines.	AG
1341š/1962	<i>Div.</i> , Modarres-e Rażavi ed., 1232pp, 13,780 lines.	AG

KEY: A=alphabetical arrangement of *Divān* poems;
D and *Div.*=*Divān*;
ff= folios;
G=*Divān* arranged by genres, e.g., *qaṣā'ed*, *gazaliāt*, *qeṭa'āt* and *robā'iāt*;
H=*Hadiqat*;
K=*Kār-nāmeḥ*;
L=letters;
Mas.=*masnaviāt*;
Org.= Organization and order of poems
pp=pages;
S=*Sayr al-'ebād*;
Sel.=selections from various works of Sanā'i,
T=topical arrangement of *Divān*;
t= *Tahrimat al-qalam*

**Writing, Reception, Recension:
Authorial Intentions and Scribal Scribblings**

Is a poem what appears in an author's final manuscript, or in a first printed edition, or in a revised second edition? Or are these artifacts records of human striving, never quite giving us the works that transcend the daily efforts of survival?..... Because a literary work can be transmitted only indirectly, by processes that may alter it, no responsible description, interpretation or evaluation of a literary work as a product of a past moment can avoid considering the relative reliability of the available texts and the nature of the connections among them.

--G. Thomas Tanselle⁸⁶

A poem like a missal found
In the mud, a missal for that young man,
That scholar hungriest for that book,
The very book, or, less, a page
Or, at the least, a phrase, that phrase,
A hawk of life, that latined phrase...

--Wallace Stevens, From "The Man with the Blue Guitar," xxiv

In evaluating the modern *textus receptus* of the *Divān* of Sanā'i, we ought, therefore, remain alert to the possible motives of scribes and poets in ascribing certain kinds of poems to an eponymous Sanā'i.⁸⁷ An author of unproven ability or stature might circulate his own verse under the literary foil of a poet of established reputation, hoping to ensure that his new creation would win a hearing, a practice attested by Sanā'i himself in relation to his compilation of the *Divān* of Mas'ud Sa'd-e Salmān. As we have seen above

⁸⁶ Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (slightly revised lectures delivered on 21, 23 and 28 April 1987 as the Rosenbach lectures at the University of Pennsylvania), (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 12 and 18.

⁸⁷ Ahmed Ateş argues that while it would be nearly impossible for the work of a famous poet to be ascribed to a lesser poet, it is possible for the authorship of a work by an obscure poet to be transferred to the name of a famous poet. *Senā'ī'nin hal tercümesinin meseleleri. Necatî Lugal Armağanı* (Ankara, 1968), 148, as quoted in Utas, *Ṭarīq*, 131.

(Chapter Two), Sanā'i apologizes in verse (*DS*, 1060-61) to Mas'ud Sa'd for mistakenly including in Sanā'i's collection of the latter's *divān*, a poem or poems by another poet (possibly even by Sanā'i himself). While one might thus win an audience by masquerading under the name of a famous poet, it was also possible to damage another poet's reputation by falsely ascribing certain poems to him, as shown by the famous incident in which Anvari is nearly put to death by the people of Balx for a satirically offensive *geṭ'eh* that circulated under his name (*cār šahr ast xorāsān rā dar cār ṭaraf....*). Anvari managed to extricate himself from this dangerous situation only with the help of a number of prominent citizens and patrons of Balx, and with the composition of a *qaṣideh* (*ay mosalmānān faḡān az dōwr-e carx-e canbari*) effusively praising the city and denying authorship of this incendiary *geṭ'eh*, which was apparently written by a certain Fotuḥi of Marv to jeopardize Anvari's reputation.⁸⁸

This incident implies that the people of Balx found nothing unusual about hearing the poems of famous court poets like Anvari in a public arena, perhaps the bazaar or the mosque. The continuing attribution of this poem to Anvari in the manuscript tradition also indicates that in the case of poems that circulated by word of mouth, the oral version of the poem would effectively become published, and only with difficulty could the text later be corrected.

⁸⁸ Šafi'i-Kadkani, *Mofles-e kimiā-foruṣ*, 31-2.

The Oral Torah of the Poets

Though the Oral Law was not committed to writing, Moses taught it in its entirety in his court, to the seventy elders as well as to Eleazer, Phineas, and Joshua--all three of whom received it from Moses. To Joshua, his disciple, Moses delivered the Oral Law and charged him concerning it. So too, Joshua, throughout his life, taught orally. Many elders received the Oral Law from Joshua. Eli received it from the elders and from Phineas. Samuel from Eli and his court. David from Samuel and his court...

--Moses Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*⁸⁹

She was the single artificer of the world
In which she sang. And when she sang, the sea,
Whatever self it had, became the self
That was her song, for she was the maker. Then we,
As we beheld her striding there alone,
Knew that there never was a world for her
Except the one she sang and, singing, made.

--Wallace Stevens, from "The Idea of Order at Key West"

Above and beyond the literary ambitions of epigonic poets, later anthologists or the disciples of a Sufi order might be inclined to ascribe unknown verses of a mystical bent they happened to come across to a well-known early Sufi poet, like Sanā'i, if said verses had a vague air of antiquity about them, followed the form (e.g., a *magnavi* in the meter *xafif*) or treated a theme (e.g., the soul's ascent to heaven) for which a preceding mystical poet was famous. Thus, as a famous early practitioner of mystical verse, "Sanā'i" might serve as a convenient or pious eponym (*pia fraus*) for later poems, primarily, one would assume, among Sufis or fellow travelers of the mystic path.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, it is also possible that

⁸⁹ Quoted in F. E. Peters, *Judaism, Christianity and Islam: The Classical Texts and Their Interpretation*, vol. 2, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 161.

⁹⁰ This is the explanation preferred by de Bruijn, *OPP*, 114, though it is also possible that literary chroniclers and biographers simply made mistakes of attribution, rather than poets deliberately forging works in the names of famous poets.

members of the audience would take notes while poems or lectures were orally delivered, thus transmitting works as it were privately over a period of time before they came to be collected in book form.

Based on linguistic evidence and a belief that the disciples of famous Sufi masters were careful to preserve a verbatim record of their masters' teachings, Moḥammad-Taḳī Bahār believed that the sayings of Abu Sa'id ebn Abi al-Xayr (d. 440/1049) as reported in the *Asrār al-towḥīd* are an accurate reflection of the language used by Abu Sa'id, the older Persian of the Samanid period, even though Moḥammad ebn al-Monavvar (d. 599/1203) did not write the book until about 150 years after the death of Abu Sa'id.⁹¹ Despite a radical distrust of copyists (see below), Bahār believed it possible, at least in a Sufi context, for an accurate, verbatim record of someone's words to be transmitted for more than a century, either on paper (in a form no longer surviving to our day) or by word of mouth, and then be accurately recorded in a book. Just such a procedure is followed in the *malfuzāt* literature of the early Ceṣṭī Sufi order, begun by Amir Ḥasan Sejzī Dehlavi (d. after 729/1329), a disciple of Neẓām al-Dīn Owliā' (638/1238-725/1325) who began taking notes at his master's discourses and later received official sanction to do so, resulting in the work *Favā'id al-fo'ād*, the success of which

⁹¹ M. T. Bahār, *Sabk-šenāsi yā tārix-e taṭavvor-e nasr-e fārsi*, 3 vols., 6th ed., (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1370/1991), 2:198.

led to other *malfuzāt* works on Nezām al-Din's pupils, such as Cerāġ-e Dehli (d. 1356), who painstakingly corrected the text of his sayings as collected by Ḥamid Qalandar in the *Xayr al-majāles*, and Borhān al-Din Ġarib (d. 1337), whose teachings were compiled by Rokn al-Din Dabir Kāšāni in his *Nafā'es al-anfās wa laṭā'ef al-alfāz*.⁹² While some of this literature is certainly spurious, like the *ḥadīṭ*, some of it seems to accurately preserve the spoken words of these Sufi masters.

Meier has noted the early association of the *robā'i* genre with Sufi gatherings and music (Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj specifically mentions *rubā'iyāt* in connection with the musical *samā'*).⁹³ M. A. Riāḥi argues that the *robā'i*, like the *fahlaviāt*, should be seen as essentially a popular genre,⁹⁴ utilizing popular language and imagery, unlike the *qaṣideh*.⁹⁵

⁹² C. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center*, (New York: State University of New York, 1992), 65-84. "Appendix A. A Sufi Bookshelf" (251-63) is quite interesting from the point of view of the reception history of Sufi texts.

⁹³ F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzellers*, Band I, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963). 1-2 and 20-21.

⁹⁴ See the comments in his introduction to Jamāl Xalil Šervāni, *Nozhat al-majāles*, ed. M. A. Riāḥi, (Tehran: Entešārāt-e Zavvār, 1366/1987), 31-35, 40.

⁹⁵ Though he admits that the ghazal is closer to the popular language of the *robā'i* than the *qaṣideh* (37), which he is not particularly fond of, Riāḥi overstates the uniqueness of the colloquial nature of the *robā'i* in contradistinction to other forms. Many of the phrases he adduces in his glossary of colloquial phrases and adverbs found in the *robā'i* of the *Nozhat al-majāles* (37-9) also appear in ghazals; e.g., *šab xvoš bād* appears in the even more colloquial form *šab-at xvoš bād man raftam* in the *radif* of one of Sanā'i's ghazals (#216,

He further proposes that the frequent singing of *robā'is* or *do-baytis*, also commonly called *bayt* in older works, to certain traditional tunes may account for the term *bayāt*, which is still used to designate several different musical modes (e.g., the *āvāz* of *Bayāt-e Eṣfahān* and *Bayāt-e Kord*, or the *guṣeh* of *Bayāt-e Širāz* and *Bayāt-e 'Ajam*, etc.).⁹⁶

We have already seen how some of Sanā'i's *ghazals* were composed as lyrics to be performed by court singers, *qavvāl*, in places where the poet was not present or enjoyed no entrée. In the *Asrār al-towhīd* the term *qavvāl* is applied to the singer of songs at the evening gatherings of Sufis (described variously as *ahl-e ṣoffeh*,⁹⁷ *aṣhāb-e ṭariqat*, *darvišān*), in Mayhaneh, near Marv, held every week in a different home, where prayers (*namāz va ovrād*) were followed by musical devotions (*samā'*).⁹⁸ These *samā'* sessions included the

DS, 925). Many *qeṭ'ehs* are also quite colloquial and certain *robā'is*, especially those with eulogistic themes, reflect a more formal diction.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 35. Note that *Bayāt* is also the name of a Turkish tribe, possibly meaning rich or fortunate according to G. Doerfer (s.v., *EIr*).

⁹⁷ A similar epithet for the Sufis, *ahl-e ṣoffeh-ye ṣafā*, occurs in the prose introduction to Sanā'i's *Hadiqat* in the version given by Modarres-e Rażavi's second edition of the work, page 12 of the forward appended at the head of the book prior to the table of contents, and also in Modarres-e Rażavi, *Ta'liqāt-e Hadiqat al-ḥaqiqeh* (Tehran: Mo'asseseh-ye Maṭbu'āt-e 'Elmi, 1344/1965), 9.

⁹⁸ The passage in question refers to the father of Abu Sa'id. Since Abu Sa'id was born in 357/967 (d. 440/1049) the said gatherings must have taken place around this time. Whether the word *qavvāl* was actually applied to such singers prior to the 5th/11th century, or was a term anachronistically

singing of poems with specifically Sufi content, danced to by those present, as if in a trance (*hālātī*). Because the singer might repeat the verses of the poem several times in the course of one performance, and because the participants might meditate upon the meaning of the poem for several days after the session, poems recited in this context could quickly gain fame before ever being recorded in written form.⁹⁹ In North India, the cultural practice described in the *Asrār al-towhīd* survives in the modern *qawwali* (from the Persian *qavvālī*), a word which designates not only the performance of music and song in a Sufi context (usually a *ghazal* or *robā'i* text sung in Persian, Urdu or Hindi), but also the gathering or occasion (typically called *maḥfel-e samā'*) in which such songs are performed.¹⁰⁰

Like Mas'ud Sa'd-e Salmān, *Hāfez* (d. 792/1390) did not compile his own *divān*.¹⁰¹ Apparently, the collection of a

applied by the author, Moḥammad b. al-Monavvar (d. 599/1203), writing in the second half of the 6th/12th century, is unclear. See Moḥammad ebn al-Monavvar, *Asrār al-towhīd fi maqāmāt al-Šayx Abi Sa'id*, ed. D. Šafā (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1332/1953), 15-16.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰⁰ R. Qureshi, "Qawwali: Sound, Context and Meaning in Indo-Muslim Sufi Music," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1981. For a general definition of *qawwali*, see ix-x; for a description of the song texts, 85ff; for a description of the Sufi social-cultural milieu of the *qawwali*, see chapter 5 "Background Dimensions"; and for the performance occasion, 131-250; and for a brief description of the particular *qawwali* at the Nizammuddin Auliya Shrine, 304-19.

¹⁰¹ *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2:1123.

divān, or at least the transcription of a fair copy, was considered the work of scribes or pupils, not suitable for the poet himself. Quite possibly, Persian kings and petty rulers had royal court reporters to take down edicts or perhaps even panegyrical poems, that were proclaimed in the public audiences of the Shah, but such documents would presumably belong to the ruler and not to the poet, though the latter, we may speculate, could gain access to them so long as he maintained cordial relations with the particular ruler. Hāfez, whose preserved poetry consists overwhelmingly of ghazals rather than long *qaṣidehs*, and who was a reciter of the Koran and certainly possessed, therefore, a good voice and an even better memory, surely recited or even sang his poetry in public. The frequent reference to ghazals as a musical art in the poetry of Hāfez has already been noted in Chapter One.

Moḥammad Golandām, a friend of Hāfez and the collector of his divān, explains that Hāfez' poems would very quickly travel to the farthest reaches of India, Central Asia, Iraq and Azerbaijan, via recitation in the *samā`* sessions (certainly with musical accompaniment) of the Sufis and in wine-drinking parties (also probably with music):

*Lā-jaram ravāhel-e ġazal-hā-ye jahān-gir-aš dar adnā
moddat-i be-aqṣā-ye torkestān va hendustān resideh va
qavāfel-e soxan-hā-ye del-paḍir-aš dar aqall-e zamān-i
be-aṭrāf va aknāf-e `eraqayn va āḍarbāyjān
kešideh....samā`-e ṣufiān bi ġazal-e šur-angiz-e u garm
na-šodi va majles-e may-parastān bi noql-e soxan-e ḍowq-*

*āmiz-e u rownaq na-yāfti*¹⁰²

This testimony of Golandām is substantiated by the scattered appearance of ghazals of Hāfez in other works transcribed during his lifetime: an anthology of Arabic and Persian prose, copied by Mas'ud ebn Maṣṣūr ebn Aḥmad Motaṭabbab in 763/1362, contains two lines of a ghazal of Hāfez, introduced as "by (le) Mowlānā Šams al-Din Moḥammad Hāfez;" a copy of Šams-e Qays' *al-Mo'jam* copied out in 781/1379 by a certain Ebn-e Faqih in Baghdad contains a ghazal of Hāfez under the rubric "Mowlānā Moḥammad Hāfez says" (*guyad*); and in an anthology of poetry and calligraphy collected for Tāj al-Din Aḥmad in 782/1380 two of Hāfez' ghazals appear in his name, along with one of his *qeṭ'ehs* and one further line from a ghazal, though the latter two appear without attribution.¹⁰³

Golandām states that he repeatedly asked Hāfez to collect his poems into a *divān* and the latter repeatedly demurred, so the task therefore fell to Golandām after the poet's death.¹⁰⁴ But due to the nature of the oral performance and "publication" of the poems, which were presumably also circulated in written form, perhaps in albums of a few

¹⁰² From Golandām's introduction to the *Divān* of Hāfez, quoted in *Šafā*, 3/2:1080-81. The discovery of other old manuscripts containing the introduction of Golandām has dispelled the doubts about its authenticity raised by Qazvini. Golandām was himself a poet, early on, but gave this up for a career of letter-writing in the royal ministry; see *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2:1145-48.

¹⁰³ *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2:1124-25.

¹⁰⁴ cited in *Šafā*, *Tārix-e adabiāt*, 3/2:1082.

ghazals, Golandām was not able to collect all the poems attributed to his friend.¹⁰⁵ It furthermore appears that Golandām was not the only one with the ambition to produce such a collection. At least two early manuscripts (ms. 9945 of the Aya Sofya library, a collection of the *divāns* of 20 different poets, completed by a certain Hāfez Hasan in Rajab 813/November 1410, less than twenty years after the poet's death in 792/13, and containing the oldest existing "complete" collection of Hāfez' poems; and an undated manuscript, given the sigla "NX" by Qazvini) exist in which the scribe copied a body of ghazals in the alphabetical order of the rhyme words, which was by that time the standard convention for the arrangement of a *divān*. Because both of these scribes subsequently appended further poems under the rubrics "continuation of the letter A" (*tatemmeh'ye harf-e alef*), and so on, these must have come to their attention at a later date, from other sources, either written or oral.¹⁰⁶ In the case of Qazvini's manuscript NX, the addenda are continued alphabetically in a section titled "new ghazals" (*gazaliāt-e jadid*), perhaps indicating that the archetype from which they were copied was even compiled during the lifetime of the poet.¹⁰⁷

The calligrapher Šehāb al-Din 'Abd Allāh Morvārid (d.

¹⁰⁵ *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2:1116.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 2:1123, 1128 and 1148.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 2:1148.

922/1516) indicates that a comprehensive edition of all the poems of Hāfez was not available until the Timurid Prince Abu al-Fath Feridun (d. 915/1510), son of the Timurid Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā, ordered a commission of scholars to make a new redaction in 907/1502. Morvārid, who expresses a low opinion of the scribes whose work he reviewed, claims that 500 copies of Hāfez' *Divān* were assembled for this project and that they were compared with some albums or shorter collections of ghazals written during the lifetime of the poet:

*Jam'-i kaṣir az foṣalā-ye anis va nodamā-ye jalis be jam' va taṣḥīḥ-e in ketāb mobāderat farmudand va qarīb beh pān-ṣad jeld Divān-e Hāfez be-ham resid va ba'ẓi safā'en va ḡazaliāt keh piš az fowt-e xvājeh nevešteh šodeh bud bā ham moqābel kardeh*¹⁰⁸

In this manner, Morvārid indicates that many ghazals that had not been included in previous collections of Hāfez (*besyār-i az ḡazal-hā...az ṣafḥeh-ye ruzegār maḥjur māndeh bud*), due to the intervention and indolence of copyists (*beh vāseṭeh-ye kāheli va taṣarrof-e kottāb*), were saved from oblivion by properly attributing them to the author and including them in his *Divān* (*dar selk-e rabṭ āmad*).¹⁰⁹

One would expect to find significant textual variation in the remarkable body of 500 manuscripts (even if this number is exaggerated, as Xānlari suggests, it is not implausible; at

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

least 1000 manuscripts of Hāfez survive to our day),¹¹⁰ a goodly number of which must have descended from different archetypes. Indeed, Xānlari asserts that none of the manuscripts written within the first fifty years after the death of Hāfez, all of which he has examined, are copied from one another or even from a common archetype, and he feels certain that no two existing manuscripts from any period will be found to agree in every detail.¹¹¹ As in the case of Mas'ud Sa'd, the poems of other poets (e.g., Salmān-e Sāveji, Xvāju-ye Kermāni, Owḥadi, Amir Mo'ezzi, and even Mas'ud Sa'd-e Salmān himself) have been erroneously included in some copies of Hāfez' *Divān*, either due to the ignorance of the compiler or to the errors of later copyists, and the corpus of poems attributed to him has tended to swell over time rather than dwindle.¹¹² Authorship of the individual poems, however, is not the primary difficulty in the text history of Hāfez; it is rather the order of the individual lines of his poems (see Chapter One for the discussion of the "unity" of his ghazals). Xānlari feels that the manuscripts are so confused on this issue that we will never be able to establish with certainty the order of the lines of many of the poems, and he even notes that some manuscripts (accidentally?) reproduce the same

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, 2:1116-17. Matini, "*Divān-e Hāfez*," *op. cit.*, 600, feels the number might be even two or three times greater.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, 2:1116.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 2:1117-18.

ghazal twice with two different sequences of the lines.¹¹³ Some of these variations, as well as variants in the readings of individual words, are undoubtedly due to authorial revision, which Xānlari has shown must have taken place.¹¹⁴ Mas'ud Farzād has suggested that the poems were written by Hāfez in draft form (*mosavvadeh*), the lines not necessarily being in the correct order, so that only the poet would know how to correctly recite them, but later compilers or copyists would not, and naturally made errors.¹¹⁵

As I have already suggested, the oral and musical mode of experiencing, preserving and transmitting poetry--a phenomenon described by Zumthor as *mouvance*--helps to account for the "instability" of both "author" and "text" for certain poems, as well as, more generally, for certain forms of poetry, particularly the *ghazal* and *robā'i*, which were commonly performed by professional singers and reciters. Multiple versions of the texts of such poems are likely to exist, some perhaps the creation of the author, who certainly fitted them to the particular circumstances of each individual performance, and some the creation of musicians or scribes. We know that Sanā'i composed ghazals for musicians to perform. We know also that ghazals are still performed today by singers

¹¹³ *ibid.*, 2:1118.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, 2:1119.

¹¹⁵ Mas'ud Farzād, *Hāfez: ṣeḥḥat-e kalemāt va eṣālat-e ḡazal-hā*, (Shiraz, 1349/1970), M-16, cited in J. Matini, "Divān-e Hāfez," 604.

of traditional Persian music in this form. While there is rarely any recorded notation of the music which accompanied the singing of these poems, a textual condition similar to that of the troubadour melodies,¹¹⁶ we know that Persian ghazals were likewise set to music in the interval between Sanā'i and our time. It is abundantly clear from both the title and the material included by al-Iṣfahānī in his *Kitāb al-aḡānī* that Arabic poetry was commonly set to music in 'Abbasid Iraq. 'Abd al-Qāder Marāḡī (757/1356-838/1430), as previously noted, also refers to the singing of Arabic and Persian poems, the latter including lines from ghazals and *robā'iāt*, in the various *taṣānif*, or songs, of the *nowbat* performance described in his musical treatise, *Maqāsed al-alḡān*.¹¹⁷ In another book, *Jāme' al-alḡān*, 'Abd al-Qāder

¹¹⁶ See E. Aubrey, "The Transmission of Troubadour Melodies: The Testimony of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, f. fr. 22543," in *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship*, 3, ed. D. C. Greetham and W. Speed Hill, (New York: AMS Press, 1987): 211-250. She argues that "medieval scribes evidently took much greater care to preserve the poems than the melodies" (213) and rarely left space in the manuscript for musical notation, which was in some cases provided by someone other than the original scribe (213-21). By contrast to the cansos of the troubadours, where perhaps only 10% of the surviving lyrics are accompanied by musical notation (and then usually in manuscripts written by French or Italian scribes), the chansons of the northern trouvères are much more frequently and reliably attested (211-212). This lack of attention to written musical notation in the south of Europe may well reflect the practice of Arab music and lyrics in Andalusia and Sicily.

¹¹⁷ *Maqāsed al-alḡān*, ed. Taqi Bineš, (Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjomeh va Našr-e Ketāb, 1344/1966), 103-106. The edition is based on an autograph manuscript of the author, dated 821/1418.

describes a *nowbat* performed at Tabriz on 1 Ramazān 778/12 January 1377 for the Jalāyirid Sultan Jalāl al-Din Ḥosayn I (r. 776/1374-784/1382), which included in its ghazal section a line or lines (*abyāt*) from a poem by Salmān-e Sāveji¹¹⁸ (c. 709/1309 - 12 Šafar 778/1 July 1376), who served at the Jalāyirid court, and had just died six months earlier.¹¹⁹ Moḥammad Golandām, as noted above, explains that Ḥāfeẓ' poems spread throughout the Persian-speaking world during his lifetime, despite his resistance to writing, through performance, almost certainly musical, in sessions of Sufi *samā`* and in wine convivia. From the Qājār period, Forṣat al-Dowleh Širāzi's (Ramazān 1271/May 1855-10 Šafar 1339/24 October 1920) *Boḥur al-alḥān*,¹²⁰ provides an anthology of about 250 ghazals suitable for singing (mostly by Ḥāfeẓ, Jāmi, Sa'di and Forṣat himself)¹²¹ and indicates the appropriate

¹¹⁸ Marāḡi, *Jāme` al-alḥān*, op. cit., 343-5.

¹¹⁹ Šafā, *Tārix-e adabiāt*, 3/2:1004-10.

¹²⁰ Forṣat al-Dowleh, *Boḥur al-alḥān*, op. cit., xxi. The book was first printed in 1293/1876, and once again in Bombay in a revised and expanded edition, 1332/1914. If the birthdate given by the editor is correct, the assertion that the book was written fifteen years prior to the first printing, would mean that the author was only about seven when he composed this book, which is highly improbable. As it is, the precocious author was only 22 when the book was first published.

¹²¹ About forty poets are mentioned in all. No ghazals of Sanā'i are given, though his name is mentioned in the section on prosody, illustrating the meter *hazaj moṣamman-e axrab*, where Forṣat quotes a line by Ruzbehān-e Širāzi, presumably the famous Sunni mystic Ruzbehān-e Baqli (d. 606/1209). This line is of interest for its bearing on the reception history of Sanā'i:

musical mode (*dastgāh* and *āvāz*) and performance occasion (whether at night or day, in a home or al fresco, for a general audience or for sages [*hokamā'* va '*orafā*], etc.) for each ghazal.¹²²

The fact that a given poet would compose several different poems in the same rhyme and meter could also lead to the admixture of verses from one poem with those of another poem by the same (or, for that matter, by a different) poet, either in performance or in the copying process. A scribe who knew a line of poetry in a given rhyme and meter by a certain poet might, when transcribing another poem in the same rhyme and meter by that same poet, introduce the extraneous line into the text. Sa'id Nafisi seems to have encountered this phenomenon in editing the *Divān* of 'Erāqi (610/1213-688/1289). The various manuscripts of 'Erāqi's ghazals present such a confused picture as to which lines belong in which poems that Nafisi despaired of sorting the matter out and even abstained from listing all the variants, because it would have made for

Bā mā soxan ar gu'i az še'r-e Sanā'i gu / row nazm-e Nezāmi rā bar farq-e Farazdaq zan. If you are going to speak with us, speak of Sanā'i's poetry / You can take the verses of Nezāmi and crack Farazdaq's skull with them.

¹²² The book contains an introduction to the art and practice of music and to prosody, and is followed by a section of ghazals (47-266), constituting the bulk of the book, where a specific mode is specified at the heading of each ghazal. General remarks on the appropriate musical modes for accompanying *robā'iāt* are given, but no information is given on specific *robā'is* (266-305). There are also excerpts from singable *magnavis* (305-322), *qeṭ'ehs* (322-26), and religious poems (326-32).

an unwieldy and ultimately unnecessarily pedantic critical apparatus.¹²³ The itinerant life-style of many Sufis and minstrels would also help account for the wide geographical dispersion of the "text" of such commonly performed poems, and their popularity among a variety of social classes.

The Wandering Quatrains

Serene he dwelt in fragrant Naishápúr,
But we must wander while the Stars endure,
He knew THE SECRET: we have none that knows,
No Man so sure as Omar once was sure!
--Andrew Lang, from "To Omar Khayyám"

The sea was not a mask. No more was she.
The song and water were not medleyed sound
Even if what she sang was what she heard,
Since what she sang was uttered word by word.
It may be that in all her phrases stirred
The grinding water and the gasping wind;
But it was she and not the sea we heard.
--Wallace Stevens, from "The Idea of Order at Key West"

This phenomenon is already well known from the perplexing textual history of the famous quatrains of Omar Khayyám ('Omar Xayyām, b. [?] 22 Ramaẓān 439/11 March 1048, d. [?] 12 Muḥarram 525(?)/4 December 1131).¹²⁴ Khayyám apparently made no effort to collect his *robā'iāt*, and though there are scattered references to his poems within a half-century of his death, the earliest manuscript which gathers a substantial

¹²³ *Kolliāt-e Šayx Faxr al-Din Ebrāhim Hamadāni motaxalleṣ beh 'Erāqi*, ed. S. Nafisi, new ed., 4th printing (n.p.:Ketāb-xāneh-ye Sanā'i, n.d. [197?; the first edition was published in 1339/1960]), 37 (introduction).

¹²⁴ These poems were, of course, popularized in English by Edward Fitzgerald, *Rubáiyāt of Omar Khayyám*, 1st ed., (London: Quaritch, 1859) and reprinted ad infinitum. Since the English rendering of his name is already well-established, I shall refer to him as Omar Khayyám, except in transliterations of Persian book titles and in the bibliography, where the name will appear as "Xayyām, 'Omar."

corpus of his reputed poems into a single "book" dates from the 9th/15th century. On the other hand, there are existing copies, mostly in Holland and Germany, of manuscripts of his scholarly treatises, including works on algebra and trigonometry, weights and measures, mathematics, climatology, physics, metaphysics, Free Will, and a translation to Persian of a work by Avicenna.¹²⁵ It is principally as an astronomer¹²⁶ and famous personage that Khayyām's memory was initially preserved. Zahir al-Din Bayhaqi Ebn-e Fondoq (d. 565/1169) mentions him principally as a philosopher and mathematician, but also as one versed in philology, jurisprudence and history; Abu al-Hasan Qefti (567/1172-646/1248), as a natural philosopher and astronomer; Šams al-Din Šahrazuri (fl. c. 650/1250-700/1300) as the successor to Avicenna, etc.¹²⁷

The theologian Zamaxšari (467/1075-538/1144) mentions

¹²⁵ For Khayyām's prose works and his station as a scientist and mathematician, see J. Homā'i, *Xayyāmi-nāme* (Tehran: Selseleh-ye entešārāt-e Anjoman-e Āgār-e Melli, 1346/1967); E. Yagāni, *Nādereh-ye ayyām Hākīm 'Omar Xayyām va robā'iāt-e u*, (Tehran: Selseleh-ye entešārāt-e Anjoman-e Āgār-e Melli, 1342/1964), 5-17 and 292-96.

¹²⁶ The profession of astronomer--scientific observer of celestial phenomenon and maker of calendars--was inextricably linked with the practice of astrological prognostication, which was much in demand in the medieval period in Iran and still today in India, hence the neologism.

¹²⁷ 'Ali Dašti, *Damī bā Xayyām*, 2nd ed., (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1348/1966, which L.P. Elwell-Sutton supplements with very useful annotations in his English translation: *Ali Dashti In Search of Omar Khayyam*, (London: George Allen and Unwin and New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 42ff. (Hereafter referred to as Dashti/Elwell-Sutton).

that Khayyám was familiar with the verse of the Arab poet Abū al-ʿAlā al-Maʿarri¹²⁸ (d. 449/1057) and there are a few scattered verses in Arabic ascribed to Khayyám.¹²⁹ Khayyám's reputation as a Persian poet, however, is belated and the reception history of his poetry is a salutary reminder of the difficulties of the Persian manuscript tradition.¹³⁰ The early literary works (*Ḥadāyeq al-seḥr*, *Lobāb al-albāb*, *Cahār maqāleh*) do not mention Khayyám's *robāʿiāt* at all, though Nezāmi ʿAruzi does describe meeting with "Xvājah Emām ʿOmar Xayyāmi" in a divertissement (*majles-e ʿešrat*) in Balx in 506/1112-13, and calls him an astronomer, a man of unparalleled learning, applying to him the title, as does Bayhaqi (Ebn-e Fondoq), *Hojjat al-Ḥaqq*. Khayyám predicts in this gathering, in a statement which is quite in harmony with themes of his *robāʿiāt*, that he will be buried in a place where the spring breeze will strew roses on his grave. Though ʿAruzi does not believe in astrological prognostication, he is moved to tears when twenty-five years later, in 530/1135-6, he

¹²⁸ J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, 190.

¹²⁹ For the Arabic poems, see Dashti/Elwell-Sutton, 80-82.

¹³⁰ For the theory of reception (*Rezeptionsästhetik*) see H. R. Jauss, *Aesthetic of Reception*, op. cit. Though not following Jauss, G. Taylor's *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present*, (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989) is an excellent example of the understanding of a work that can be achieved by considering the changes in its historical reception. For a summary of the transmission and reception history of the works of Khayyám, see Dashti/Elwell-Sutton, 11-105.

visits the grave of Khayyám in Nayšāpur to find that Khayyám has been laid to rest beneath pear and apricot trees, which bury his grave in blossoms.¹³¹

The earliest known quotation of a Persian poem by Khayyám dates from almost a century after his death and appears in a treatise on the Qur'ān by Faxr al-Din Rāzi (b. 543 or 544/1148-1150, d. 606/1210). Prior to this, Emām al-Din Kāteb-e Qazvini in his *Xaridat al-qaṣr* (c. 570/1175), a biographical work on Muslim poets, had mentioned an Arabic poem of Khayyám's supposedly still being recited in the streets of Isfahan. It is important to note this author's testimony that Khayyám was known for his work in astronomy and natural philosophy, but that his name had apparently (within forty years of his death) also become proverbial in the context of poetry.¹³² One might surmise from these comments that already from this date Khayyám was considered the composer of orally circulating quatrains far beyond his native Nayšāpur.

The corpus of Khayyámesque *robā'īāt* swelled from a mere handful during the first century after his death to more than 700 in the nineteenth century Lucknow lithograph. This textual inflammation seems to have occurred primarily in the 9th-10th/15th-16th century, as the table on the following page

¹³¹ *Cahār maqāleh*, 100-101.

¹³² Dashti/Elwell-Sutton, 35-6.

shows.¹³³ Modern scholarship recognizes as authentic creations of the mind of Khayyám a considerable number of *robā'i* that do not appear in the various anthologies and other sources dating to within a century of his death, and yet has shown the tendency of *robā'iāt* to "wander" from the *divān* of one poet to another. In the case of Khayyám, approximately two-thirds of the 559 quatrains presented to us in the mid-9th/15th century by Yār Aḥmad Tabrizi, the author of the *Ṭarab xāneh*, as compositions of Khayyám are now thought

¹³³ The information for the table was drawn from Dašti and Dashti/Elwell-Sutton and from B. Csillik, ed., *Les mauscrits mineurs des ruba'iyat de 'Omar Khayyam dan la Bibliotheque Nationale* (Szeged, Hungary: Bibliothèque Universitaire, 1933), as well as his introductory notes to *The Principal Manuscripts of the Rub'iyyat of 'Umar-i-Khayyam in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris*, v. 1 (Szeged, Hungary: Bibliothèque Universitaire, 1934). Also useful is the excellent study by E. Yagāni, *Nādereh-ye ayyām*, esp. 303-18.

TABLE 2 : A PARTIAL HISTORY OF THE TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF THE ROBĀ'ĪĀT OF OMAR KHAYYĀM

DATE	DESCRIPTION	# OF ROBĀ'Ī
570/1175	<i>Xaridat al-qaṣr</i> by 'Emād al-Din Kāteb al-Eṣfahānī, who heard an Arabic poem in Isfahan attributed to Khayyām	1
c.600/1204	Zahiri Samarqandi's <i>Sendbād-nāmeḥ</i> , quoted without attribution	5
≤ 606/1210	Quoted in Faxr al-Din Rāzi's <i>al-Tanbih 'alā ba'ḏ asrār al-moda'ah fī ba'ḏ suwar al-Qur'ān</i> (a treatise on the Qur'ān)	1
620/1223	Quoted in Najm al-Din Dāyeh's <i>Merṣād al-'ebād</i>	2
≤ 622/1225	<i>Marzbān-nāmeḥ</i> , quoted without attribution	3
658/1260	Quoted in Jovayni's <i>Tārix-e jahāngošā</i>	1
695/1296	Marginal notes in a ms. of <i>Lama'āt al-serāj</i>	9
728/1328	Quoted in the <i>Tārix-e Vaṣṣāf</i> , following Jovayni	1
730/1330	Quoted in Mostowfi's <i>Tārix-e gozideh</i>	1
731/1331†	Quoted in the <i>Nozhat al-majāles</i> , an anthology of verses by various poets	31
741/1341	from Jājarmi's <i>Mo'nes al-aḥrār</i> (an anthology of poems by about 200 Persian poets)	13
808/1406	Quoted in Abarquhi's <i>Ferdows al-tavārix</i> , following Mostowfi	1
861/1457	ms., Stambul A S 1032	131
865/1461	ms., Stambul N O 3892	315
865/1461	ms., Ouseley 140, Bodleian Library	158
867/1463	<i>Ṭarab-xāneh</i> by Yār Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn Rašidi-ye Tabrizi (in the edition by J. Homā'i)	559
c. 1500	Berlin ms. used by F. Rosen in 1930, copied from a ms. of 721/1321	329
937/1531	Paris ms.	76
957/1550	Vienna ms., (Flügel, #507)	482
961/1554	ms., Bankipur Public Library	604
911/1605	privately owned ms., published in 1939 by Maḥfuz al-Haqq in the <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta</i>	203
1312/1894	Lucknow lithograph	770

† See below for a discussion of this source and its date.

to be falsely ascribed.¹³⁴ Dashti conservatively accepts 36, 38, or 75 authentic quatrains (with an estimated margin of error of ± 10 -15%),¹³⁵ while other less skeptical scholars give the imprimatur of *nihil obstat* to somewhere between 143 and 252 authentic quatrains.¹³⁶ Dashti's textual criticism,

¹³⁴ Modern textual criticism of the *robā'iāt* of Khayyām was initiated by Mrs. Jessie Cadell (*Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 99, May 1879: 650-9), who had collated various manuscripts to reach a total of over 1000 quatrains, of which she thought only 250-300 were authentic. Because this article appeared in a non-scholarly venue, modern textual criticism of Khayyām has been mostly ignorant of it, instead tracing its roots back to an 1897 article by V.A. Zhukovsky, "Omar Khayam i strantsvuyushchie chetverostishiya" ('Omar Xayyām and the Wandering Quatrains), which was followed by a number of important books and articles including those of E. D. Ross (1898, 1926-30), A. Christensen (1903, 1905, 1927), F. Rosen (1925, 1926), H. Ritter (1929), C. Rempis (1933, 1935, 1937, 1943), B. Csillik (1934), Ş. Hedāyat (1934), M. 'A. Foruġi and Q. Ġani (1941), 'A. Eqbāl (1946), M. 'Abbāsi (1959), J. Homā'i (1963), E. Yagāni (1964), V. Minorsky (1967), 'A. Dašti (1966, 1969) and Dashti/L.P. Elwell-Sutton (1971).

¹³⁵ Dashti/Elwell-Sutton accepts 16 *robā'i* from the earliest sources, arguing that these are the most highly reliably authentic poems of Khayyām (110). To this he adds 12 further quatrains from a slightly less reliable strata of sources (115) plus 5 further quatrains from two manuscripts in the Majles library (117), one more from the *Senbād-nāme* (119) and two or four more (he is somewhat ambiguous about this) from *al-Aqṭāb al-qoṭbieh* (119-23), for a total of 36 or 38. These quatrains, acceptable to Dashti on the basis of the manuscript tradition, then provide a basis to evaluate other poems ascribed to Khayyām in terms of style and tone. Dashti settles on a core of 75 "selected quatrains," wherein the "margin of doubt is relatively small, amounting to ten of fifteen per cent of the whole" (185). To this he adds a further 26 poems of doubtful but possibly accurate ascription to Khayyām (200-205), for an upper maximum of 101.

¹³⁶ Cf. Ş. Hedāyat, who includes 143 poems in his *Tarāneh-hā-ye Xayyām* (Tehran: Maṭba'eh-ye Rowshanā'i, 1313/1934); M. 'A. Foruġi's introduction to his edition (with Q. Ġani), *Robā'iāt-e Ḥakim Xayyām-e Nayšāpuri* (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Zavvār, 1320/1941), where 178 poems are accepted as genuine; and M. 'Abbāsi, *Kolliāt-e āḡār-e pārsi-ye*

descended from the argument of F. Rosen that a small core of poems can be accepted as authentic on the basis of the early tradition history and can then be used as a touchstone to evaluate the stylistic and thematic authenticity of the rest of the corpus,¹³⁷ rests upon two premises which, though not illogical, are unprovable: that Khayyām composed uniformly excellent poems and that he did not treat the same subject or theme twice. He argues that "Khayyam was such a master of construction that one cannot conceive of his repeating the same ideas in a slovenly form;" therefore, *robā'iāt* which "repeat the same ideas, but in a loose and superficial way...expressed with a clumsiness that is quite unlike the true Khayyam,"¹³⁸ should be understood as deliberate later imitations. An authentic poem of Khayyām should show a "flash of genius."¹³⁹ Hence, Dashti rejects, as "the better part of discretion,"¹⁴⁰ those poems judged of inferior quality or

Hakim 'Omar Xayyām (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye Bārāni, 1338/1959), who includes 252, though probably based on the forged manuscript which deceived Arberry.

¹³⁷ Friedrich Rosen, *Robā'iāt-e Ḥakim 'Omar Xayyām bā moqaddemeh-i rāje' beh aš'ār va šarḥ-e ḥāl-e Ḥakim*, (Berlin: Kāviāni, 1304/1925) and "Zur Textfrage der Vierzeiler Omar's des Zeltmachers," *ZDMG* N.F. 5, 80 (1926):285-313. Note that this method, as applied by A. Christensen, was already under critical attack from Ritter, "Zur Frage der Echtheit der Vierzeiler 'Omar Chajjams," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 32:3 (1929): 156-63, who thought the search for an authentic text quixotic.

¹³⁸ Dashti/Elwell-Sutton, 142.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, 149.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 126.

those which reprise the idea or theme of the "key poems"--the core of *robā'īāt* accepted as authentic on the basis of the earliest tradition.

Although Dashti works his way rationally through the textual tradition, he freely admits the obvious: his criteria for forming an authentic canon are not inexorable or axiomatic. An editor must, in such a textual jumble, be guided by his "instinctive feelings and good taste."¹⁴¹ This is a candidly refreshing admission of the crucial role played by what western textual scholars have called "conjectural emendation," and of the fact that textual criticism is not a science. As G. T. Tanselle puts it:

Textual criticism is a historical undertaking, for its aim is to elucidate the textual history of individual works and to attempt to reconstruct the precise forms taken by the texts of those works at particular moments in the past. Like all efforts to recover the past, it depends on judgment at every turn...¹⁴²

One might add to Dashti's criteria further observations, such as the likelihood that poems containing the *taxalloş* of "Xayyām" are not authentic, insofar as Khayyām does not seem to have sought either fame or money for his poetry, nor has the *taxalloş* signature traditionally been a prominent feature of the *robā'i* (refer to the appendix for the frequency of the *taxalloş* in the *ghazaliāt* and *robā'īāt* of Sanā'i). Given these considerations, the appearance of Khayyām's sobriquet in

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 148.

¹⁴² *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, s.v. "Textual Criticism," 1273.

a *robā'i* might well betray the belated origins of the poem and the author's awareness of the existence of a genre of Khayyamesque *robā'iāt*.

Fortunately, however, Dashti's aesthetic sensibilities and critical instincts are finely honed, and lead to many conclusions to which most readers can readily assent, though one can easily imagine other critical premises to begin from, including a skeptical attitude that would reject, on the basis of the early transmission history, any more than three or four authentic *robā'i* of Khayyām, and even then with the caveat, as set forth by Ritter, that this handful of authentic compositions had been circulated orally for many years before being recorded on paper. Indeed, although Dashti was careful in his use of the *Nozhat al-majāles* and accepted only twelve of the thirty-one quatrains¹⁴³ it attributes to Khayyām, the reliability of this text, which is central to the establishment of the "key quatrains," calls for even more extreme suspicion.

It is the opinion of Riāḥi that the unique manuscript of the *Nozhat al-majāles*, an anthology of some 4125 *robā'iāt* arranged by subject matter in seventeen chapters, was merely copied by the scribe, Esmā'il ebn Esfandiār al-Abhari, on 25 Šawwāl 731/1 August 1331, and not authored by him on that

¹⁴³ M. A. Riāḥi counts 36; see Xalil Šarvāni, *Nozhat al-majāles*, 68.

date, as originally assumed.¹⁴⁴ The author, a certain Jamāl Xalil Šarvāni,¹⁴⁵ or the scribe, may have added substantially to the collection at a later date, but the bulk of the book must date from the reign of 'Alā al-Din Šarvānšāh, Fariborz III (r. 622/1225-?649/1252), to whom the text was dedicated.¹⁴⁶ Sa'di (d. 690/1291, *Golestān* w. 656/1258), whose name we would certainly expect to find in a poetry anthology written in 731/1331, is not mentioned, though several poets who died between 656/1258 and 690/1291 are mentioned.¹⁴⁷ Though the earlier date would at first lead us to conclude that the attribution of poems to Khayyām or other poets of the 6th/12th century are more reliable than if the book had been written 80 or 100 years later, many of its ascriptions to famous poets can nevertheless be assumed wrong or doubtful. For example, at least three of the poems attributed to Khayyām appear to be the work of others, as Dashti pointed out.¹⁴⁸ Only one of the fourteen quatrains

¹⁴⁴ Xalil Šarvāni, *Nozhat*, op. cit., 47.

¹⁴⁵ The manuscript (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library #1667, 'Ali Amiri Jār Allāh collection), which was discovered by Helmut Ritter in 1933, is collected together with the *Divān* of 'Erāqi and is missing the first few pages, which might have been a prose introduction. During the copying process, the scribe seems to have erroneously included a group of 59 robā'i in the wrong chapter. The manuscript was used by Rempis and Foruġi for their work on Khayyām. For Amin Riāhi's arguments on the date, see *Nozhat*, 46-8.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 47.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 48.

¹⁴⁸ Dashti/Elwell-Sutton, 113-15.

herein ascribed to Asir-e Axsikati appears in the printed edition of his *Divān*.¹⁴⁹ None of the five *robā'i* said to be by Adib-e Şāber are found in either printed edition of his *Divān*.¹⁵⁰ Only ten of the sixty-six *robā'i* ascribed to Jamāl al-Din Eşfahāni appear in his printed *Divān*, though 227 of the 283 *robā'i* attributed to his son, Kamāl al-Din Eşfahāni, are corroborated by the manuscripts of the latter's *Divān*.¹⁵¹ Half of the four attributed to Rašid al-Din Vaṭvāṭ are not to be found in his *Divān*, while only twenty-two of the eighty-nine ascribed to Sayyed Ḥasan-e Ġaznavi appear in his.¹⁵² Only four of the twenty-two said to be by Mo'ezzi appear in Eḡbāl's edition of that poet's *Divān*.¹⁵³

While it can be assumed, generally speaking, that the testimony of several manuscripts of a poet's collected works is to be preferred over the testimony of a unique manuscript of an anthology of *robā'iāt*, even though the anthology may be older than any surviving copies of the respective poets' works, and that most of the poems which do not appear in the printed *divāns* are not accurately attributed in *Nozhat al-Majāles*. However, the converse can also be argued: forty-

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 57-58.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 59. See bibliography for the editions of his *Divān*.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, 64-5 and 92.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, 69 and 76. See bibliography for the editions of their respective *Divāns*.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, 96. See the bibliography for his *Divān*.

seven *robā'i* included in Foruzānfar's edition of Jalāl al-Din Rumi's *Divān-e Šams* and eight *robā'i* previously thought to be by Hāfez all appear in the *Nozhat al-majāles* under the names of various authors, thus making it unlikely for Rumi and impossible for Hāfez to be the original composer of these quatrains.

In the particular case of Sanā'i, only seven of the thirty-three *robā'i* which the *Nozhat al-majāles* attributed to him can be found among the 537 *robā'iāt* given by Modarres-e Ražavi in his edition of the *Divān* (several of which are themselves wrongly ascribed). It is difficult to know whether or not any of these remaining twenty-six *robā'i* are authentic creations of Sanā'i, but we can now safely conclude, if any doubt remained, that the traditional ascription of *robā'iāt* to a given poet by the manuscript tradition is highly unreliable. Indeed, H. Ritter considers the *robā'i* a type of folk poetry or song, transmitted orally without reference to a text.¹⁵⁴ F. Meier elaborated upon this point, noting the "disadvantage," at least from the textual scholar's point of view, to the rapid and widespread rise to popularity of the *robā'i* genre ("*Gattung*") during the 5th-6th/11th-12th century; its epigrammatic brevity and popularity makes for a particularly unstable transmission history, with many

¹⁵⁴ H. Ritter, "Zur Frage der Echtheit," op. cit. On the question of the transmission of Khayyām's *robā'i*, Ritter concludes: "Das ist typische Volksliederüberlieferung."

anonymously and eponymously authored quatrains.¹⁵⁵ As I have argued above, the ghazal is also susceptible to the same vagaries, though perhaps to a slightly lesser degree.

It would appear that Khayyám, even though he was apparently known as a composer of *robā'i* within a generation after his death, may never have "published" his poems in written form. Therefore, Dashti's rational approach to the textual tradition notwithstanding, it is extremely difficult to speak of "authorial intention" or even of a "text" in the case of Khayyám's *robā'īāt*, which may quite possibly have been intended by their author as ephemeral or impromptu creations, lacking literary ambition and delivered or circulated orally, perhaps for specific occasions. Given this "textual condition," the instability or "mouvance" of the text and authorial attribution is to be expected, and the choice of any particular copy-text is very difficult to justify on rational grounds. Not only is an autograph manuscript lacking, as is nearly always the case for this period, the reception history for Khayyám suggests that a manuscript or book in the traditional sense never existed, and that he never "published" any of his poems in the first place.

¹⁵⁵ "Die Kürze hatte aber auch ihre Nachteile. In keiner persischen Dichtungsart haben wir so viele herrenlose oder einem falschen Herrn zugeschriebene Stücke wie unter den *rubā'ī's*. Man behielt sie leicht, die Volkstümlichkeit führte zum Verlust des Autornamens, und hinterher konnten sie leicht einem anderen Namen, einer Gestalt, die dem Volk etwas bedeutete, angehängt werden. Der Weg führte wohl meist in dieser Weise über die Anonymität zur Pseudonymität." F. Meier, *Die Schöne Mahsati*, 17.

Is There a Message in the Medium?

Tradition, in a word, is the sense of the total past as now.
 --Marshall McLuhan¹⁵⁶

They said, "You have a blue guitar,
 You do not play things as they are."
 The man replied, "Things as they are
 Are changed upon the blue guitar."
 And they said then, "But play, you must,
 A tune beyond us, yet ourselves,
 A tune upon the blue guitar
 Of things exactly as they are."
 --Wallace Stevens, from "The Man with the Blue Guitar"

Aside from the problems of attribution and transmission, the preservation and recovery of early Persian poetry is further hampered by the ravages of time. The normal wear and tear that the reading and transport of books or manuscripts entails and the inevitable physical deterioration (light exposure, worms, fire, flood, rain, humidity, etc.), was exacerbated in Iran by the devastation that wave after wave of conquerors, notably the Mongols, have wrought. These invasions had a "profound impact upon Iranian material culture;" Iranian metalwork, for example, "underwent a number of important changes in terms of technique, iconography, form and style," particularly during the period 1150-1375 A.D., that were shaped in large part by "historical and political circumstances."¹⁵⁷ This is presumably also true of Persian books and book-making, an industry which was doubtless interrupted in some of the cities that were sacked or which

¹⁵⁶ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Signet Books, 1964), 263.

¹⁵⁷ L. Komaroff, *The Golden Disk of Heaven: Metalwork of Timurid Iran*, (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers and Bibliotheca Persica, 1992), 1.

were directly ruled for a time by a non-Persian speaking aristocracy, destroying or altering local traditions.

Traditional paleography, including examination of the paper, the type of script, orthographic conventions, etc., are obviously important tools in establishing the date and occasionally even the provenance of manuscripts.¹⁵⁸ But manuscripts, such as the recently re-discovered Florence copy of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, completed on Tuesday, 30 Muḥarram 614 (9 May 1217),¹⁵⁹ can be examined for more than just paleographic or textual evidence. From page 249 to 275, the last page of this manuscript, the copyist wrote in a hurried and slovenly script,¹⁶⁰ as though laboring under a deadline. It is entirely possible to conclude, rather than assuming that the second volume is now lost, that time constraints did not allow

¹⁵⁸ For the question of writing materials see Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, 54-71 and also Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 238-49.

¹⁵⁹ Dj. Khaleqi Motlagh, "Dast-nevis-e *Šāh-nāmeḥ* movarrax-e 614 Hejri Qamari," *Iran Nameh*, 7:1 (Autumn 1367/1988), 63-109. Also appears under the title "Dast-nevis-e *Šāh-nāmeḥ* (Flowrāns)" with a slight alteration in the first line and only two of the original eight photographs of the manuscript, in *Gol-e ranj-hā-ye kohan*, op. cit., 343-71. An unnecessarily extreme skepticism about the dating, reliability and usefulness of this manuscript is expressed in several articles by M. Qarib, including "Dast-nevis-e *Šāh-nāmeḥ*-ye Flowrāns (614 H. ?): hāyāhu-ye besyār az barā-ye hic!," in *Farhang: ketāb-e haftom* (Tehran: Mo'assesseh-ye Moṭāle'āt va Taḥqiqāt-e Farhangi, 1369/1989), 1-5x ???

¹⁶⁰ Motlagh, "Dast-nevis-e *Šāh-nāmeḥ*," op. cit., 64.

the copyist to attend to the second volume.¹⁶¹

It is interesting to speculate whether the scribe was copying from a two-volume version of the *Šāh-nāme* text, or if he broke up the book in this manner to suit the requirements of the owner, the paper available, the book-binder, or the time allotted to him. Nezāmi 'Aruzi, writing in about 552/1157, indicates that the copy of the *Šāh-nāme* presented to Sultan Maḥmud was divided into seven volumes by Ferdowsi's scribe (*nossāx*), 'Ali Daylam, and this is the traditionally preferred arrangement.¹⁶² Because there are other instances of two-volume editions of the *Šāh-nāme* in which only the manuscript of the first volume survives, one is tempted to speculate that only the first volume, with the history of the mythical *Pišdādiān* kings was in high demand, and perhaps the second volume of these manuscripts was never commissioned, purchased or completed, or that the owners were more likely to sell or otherwise dispose of the second volume.¹⁶³ The role

¹⁶¹ In later periods, the existence of dated manuscripts with unfinished paintings allows us to reconstruct the reasons why the miniatures were left incomplete. For example, a copy of the *Šaraf-nāme* was made for Noṣrat-šāh, the ruler of Bengal, in 938/1532 (British Library, Or. 13836). He was murdered in that year and some of the later miniatures in this manuscript were left with incomplete detailing. See N. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 221.

¹⁶² *Cahār maqāleh*, 77-8. On the transmission history of the *Šāh-nāme* see I. Afšār, "Šāh-nāme az xaṭṭi tā cāpi," *Honar va mardom* 162 (Farvardin 1355/1976): 17-54.

¹⁶³ The Karachi manuscript of 752/1351 is missing the entire second volume, whereas mere sections or pages are missing from the Istanbul manuscript of 731/1330 and the undated manuscript of the Cama Oriental Institute in Bombay.

of economics should not be underestimated in the history of manuscript production; Claude Cahen has noted that, at least in the case of works on history, long works, even highly useful and important works, have not been copied as often as shorter works, even though of mediocre quality, and the various volumes of a single multi-volume manuscript work are often discovered in different locations.¹⁶⁴

The Florence copy is written in *nasx* script, four lined columns to the page, each column containing a hemistich of the poem and with a varying number of lines per page. There are no illustrations, as is usually the case for Persian manuscripts of this early date,¹⁶⁵ though the thirteenth century A.D. has been described as a period when "the whole Muslim world explodes with images," the century of the most intensive production of illustrated Arabic manuscripts, as well as illustrated ceramics, metalwork and glass.¹⁶⁶ The

See Khaleghi Motlagh, "Dast-nevis," *op. cit.*, 66-7, who, however, operates on the equally plausible assumption that the second volumes must have originally been produced and have simply been lost.

¹⁶⁴ C. Cahen, "History and Historians," in *Religion, Learning and Science*, ed. M.J.L Young, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, 207-8.

¹⁶⁵ Though some of the heroes of the *Šāh-nāme* cycle are depicted on ceramic and inlaid metal pieces dating from the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century, they do not appear in manuscripts until the early 8th/14th century. See E. Grube and E. Sims, "Painting," in R. Ferrier, ed., *The Arts of Persia*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 220-21.

¹⁶⁶ O. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, *op. cit.*, 4. Grabar notes that there is relatively little textual variation in the hundreds of existing manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* (7-8).

pages of the Florence manuscript are interspersed at irregular intervals with ornamental ribbons inscribed in decorative *kufi* script, with a few phrases in Persian, but mostly in Arabic, in praise of the owner of the manuscript and expressing pious wishes for his longevity.¹⁶⁷

Perhaps, then, this copy was made by an Iranian man of letters visiting an Arab prince, or a patron of limited means, who wished to have in his library a copy of Ferdowsi's by then famous royal epic of Iran. The manuscript was owned at various times by a Shiite, named *Nezām-e Kāši* (perhaps from *Kāšān*), and by a certain *Axi Moḥammad ebn Axi*, whose association with the book has been dated to 632/1235,¹⁶⁸ so that within eighteen years of its completion, it would appear to have changed hands (either by sale or by inheritance).

As textual critics, we would do well to ponder the social circumstances in which a particular manuscript comes into existence and is preserved, because this may affect our evaluation of its evidence. In Elizabethan England, for

This is interesting by comparison to the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, because the frame structure of both works would easily allow for accretions. The fact that the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* existed as oral legends and was well known before Ferdowsi's version, whereas the *Maqāmāt* stories were apparently the creation of *Badī' al-Zamān Hamaḡānī* and became widely known in a written version at a time of wide-spread literacy, and then even more famous in *Ḥarīrī's* version, thus fixing the text in relatively stable form.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 63-4.

¹⁶⁸ So by Angelo Piemontese, who discovered the manuscript, but *Khaleghi Motlagh*, "Dast-nevis," 65, was unable to verify this date.

example, the folio format was associated with books of philosophy or great erudition, whereas plays and similar literature for entertainment were usually printed in a quarto format. Thus Ben Jonson's folio edition of his works in 1616 or the 1623 First Folio edition of Shakespeare announced these works as having exalted literary pretensions.¹⁶⁹ A thorough historical survey of the sociology of reading, literacy, the economics of book production and purchase, and of the *usus scribendi* in Iran might highlight similar aspects of the literary establishment and prove highly relevant to the textual editor.¹⁷⁰ Although it does not cover Persian books, Johannes Pedersen provides an excellent introduction to the history of the production of medieval Arabic books,¹⁷¹ and can be quite suggestive for the history of Persian book production.

We know that the profession of copyist and bookseller (*warrāq* or *varrāq*) was regulated by the *muhtasib* (market overseer, or *agoranomos*)¹⁷² in 4th/10th century Baghdad, who

¹⁶⁹ William W. Barker, "Book (hierarchies)" in the *Oxford Companion to the English Language*, ed. Tom MacArthur, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 140.

¹⁷⁰ For a good example of the insights that careful consideration of the sociology of reading can provide, see R. Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*, (New York: W.W. Norton), esp. 107-187.

¹⁷¹ J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, op. cit.

¹⁷² On the probable Greek origins of this office, see Willem Floor, "The Office of Muhtasib in Iran," *Iranian Studies* 18:1 (Winter 1985): 53-74.

maintained an index of forbidden books, "including those by and about Hallāj," such that three centuries after his death, threats were still incurred for mentioning him in certain contexts in writing.¹⁷³ In later periods, the *warrāqīn*, like other professions, were organized into guilds.¹⁷⁴ These *warrāqīn* were so numerous that they had their own quarter of the city at least in Baghdad, Cairo and Damascus,¹⁷⁵ with shops probably on an upper story which also served as a meeting place for scholars to look over the books while sharing refreshments and conversation.¹⁷⁶ Typically, these *warrāqīn* were empowered by an author to publish their works, and retained an original text authenticated and expressly authorized by the author through a process of *ijāzah* and *samā'*.¹⁷⁷ In the first few centuries of the 'Abbasid period, this often entailed an audition (*samā'*) of the work before the

¹⁷³ L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallāj, Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, trans. H. Mason, 4 vols., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 2:32.

¹⁷⁴ Pedersen, op. cit., 52. George Saliba, in an unnecessarily fussy review (JAOS 105:2 [1985]:346-7), objects to Pedersen (or his translator's) use of the term "guild" on the grounds that if such entities existed in medieval Islam, they were very different in nature from the European guild system. He fails, however, to offer an alternative English word for the Arabic *ṣinf/aṣnāf*.

¹⁷⁵ Pedersen, 51-2.

¹⁷⁶ B. Dodge, ed. and tr., *The Fihrist of al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 1, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), xvi. Also, Pedersen, op. cit., 52.

¹⁷⁷ Massignon, *Passion of al-Hallāj*, 33.

author, with the copyist reading aloud the copy he had produced for the benefit of the author (*qara'a 'alā*), whose authorization (*ijāzah*) had to be obtained before the copyist was allowed to transmit the book on his own authority. Naturally enough, it might occur to the author to expand or revise his work during this audition, or during recitations of the work before an audience, leading to the production of a new authorial edition of the work, as appears to have been the case for Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāme* and Sanā'i's *Ḥadiqat*.

The process of the composition, revision, transcription and publication of Abū 'Umar al-Muṭarriz's *Kitāb al-yāqūt* is recounted in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* as one in which the author orally dictates the first draft of the work in a Baghdad mosque to a certain Abū al-Faṭḥ, without recourse to books or notes. The author then goes over this draft with the aid of a pupil or assistant, Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, making extensive additions to the text, which are then turned over (either orally or in written form) to Abū al-Faṭḥ to make a second draft, which turns out to be twice as long as the first. Next, al-Muṭarriz has this second draft read to him aloud by a third party, Abū Ishāq al-Ṭabarī, in public (where, presumably, some of the auditors may be taking notes), thus effectively publishing the first volume of the work. al-Muṭarriz now makes further additions, which are given to his scribe, Abū al-Faṭḥ. This process consumes three and one-half years, from Muḥarram 326/December 937 to Dū al-Qa'dah

329/August 941, when Abū al-Fath begins to read the work out loud to al-Muṭarriz, collating four transcripts (including one belonging to the assistant al-Ṣaffār and one to the reader Abū Ishāq, and two others that were probably written out at Abū Ishāq's public reading) in the process. al-Muṭarriz now makes further emendations, incorporated in the book through the efforts of another pupil, and has Abū Ishāq give a final reading in his presence, probably to make corrections and ensure the additions have been duly made. After satisfying himself that the book is complete, the author holds a public reading in his home on 14 Jumādā I/ 25 January 943, this time with a declaration that this is the final authorially-corrected version to which nothing may be added, thus effectively promulgating the official version of the work.¹⁷⁸

Al-Ḥarīrī, author of the famous *Maqāmāt*, is said to have signed 700 copies of his work during his own lifetime.¹⁷⁹ Though it is from a later period and a neighboring country, there is an autograph manuscript of Sultan Süleyman's own poems in Ottoman Turkish and Persian, *Divān-e Moḥebbi*, written in *ta'liq* script "with corrections, insertions, and deletions added to the text;" this was surely his own draft copy which was later given to calligraphers, such as Mehmed Şerif of Tabriz, who was the calligrapher to a number of Ottoman Sultans, to produce elaborate illuminated versions with

¹⁷⁸ cited by Pedersen, 29-31.

¹⁷⁹ Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 3.

illustrations, of which there are several dating from the last few years of the Süleyman's life.¹⁸⁰ There is evidence in this case, therefore, that more than one authorial version exists; in the apparently uncompleted Topkapı Sarayı version calligraphed by Mehmed Şerif, three poems in Süleyman's own hand are tacked on at the end.¹⁸¹

Naturally, scholars have always endeavored to build up a personal library; the Arab belles-lettrist al-Jāhiz was apparently killed by an avalanche of his own books in 255/869.¹⁸² It would thus seem that in Basra in the mid-3rd/9th century it was possible for a man of letters not attached to the court to build his own library, but it is not clear that this was always and everywhere the case. In Mamluk Cairo in the 9th/15th century, for example, book collecting is

¹⁸⁰ E. Atil, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams and Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 67. This book reproduces a page from the autograph manuscript of the Istanbul's Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, (H. 1132, fol 94a), 66; illuminated pages from two different elegant copies made by Mehmed Şerif in 1565 and 1566 (R. 738 mük., fols. 39b-40a and Istanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, T. 5467, fols. 359b-360a), 67 and 68; and a stamped and gilded leather binding from another copy (Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 1962), 69. She mentions another copy in the Istanbul University Library (T. 1976), 110n58.

¹⁸¹ Atil, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, 68.

¹⁸² C. Pellat, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Djahiz." Pedersen (50), citing Ibn al-Nadīm and Yāqūt's *Iršād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb*, both mines of information on the subject of scholars, scribes and books, says that Jāhiz, though he obviously owned a great number of books, found it cheaper to hire the stall (*hānūt*, *dukkān*) of a *warrāq* for the evening and read the books there than it was to purchase them.

said to have been beyond the means of most individuals, and it therefore fell to schools and Sufi orders to establish *waqfs* (charitable trusts) for the maintenance of public libraries, where, however, the books did not circulate and had to be read on the premises.¹⁸³ Several rulers throughout the history of the Islamic world established well-funded scriptoriums and ateliers, such as al-Ma'mūn's *Dār al-'Elm* library at Baghdad, said to have contained 80,000 volumes at the time of its removal to the Mustanşirīah Madrasah in 1234 A.D.; the Fāṭimid library in Cairo, of whose holdings the estimates range from 120,000 to two million books; the Buyid dynasty founded many libraries in Iran, including that of Ibn al-'Amīd in Rayy, which by 996 A.D. was said to consist of one hundred camel-loads of books, and the *Xizānat al-Kutub* library of 'Azūd al-Dawlah (d. 983 A.D.) at Shiraz, described by al-Maqdisī in 985 A.D. as a complex of two-story domed buildings containing 360 rooms; the Samanid library in Bukhara, said to have impressed even Avicenna with its extensiveness and its collection of rare books,¹⁸⁴ and the *naqqāš-xāneh* of the Ottoman Sultans at Istanbul, established by Bayezid II and cultivated by his successors as an important imperial institution employing among its many paper-makers, scribes, calligraphers,

¹⁸³ C. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 254.

¹⁸⁴ culled from Pedersen, 113-125. C.f., the discussion of the libraries of this period in Şafā, *Tārix-e adabiāt*, 1:260-63.

illuminators, painters, and binders, a number of famous artisans.¹⁸⁵

Such libraries often employed famous scholars, such as the library at the *Madrasedh-ye Nezāmieh* in Baghdad, where *Nezām al-Molk* chose to put the grammarian *Abu Zakariā Xaṭīb-e Tabrizi* (d. 502/1109) in charge. Under Sultan *Mas'ud III* (r. 492/1099-508/1115), the poet *Mas'ud Sa'd-e Salmān* was appointed head librarian in Ghazna, apparently an important responsibility. *Mas'ud Sa'd* describes his objectives for this position in the following passage:

biārāyad konun dār al-kotob rā
be-towfiq-e xodā-ye fard-e jabbār
ze har dār al-kotob k-andar jahān-ast
conān sāzad ke biš āyad be-meqdār
be-šādi bar jehad har bāmdādi
be-rubad xāk-e har hojreh be-roxsār
be-jān ān-rā 'emārat piš girad
keh cun bandeh na-bāšād hic me'mār
dehad har 'elm rā nazm-i keh har kas
bovad az 'elm now'-i rā xaridār
konad mašḥun hameh ṭāq o raf-e ān
be-tafsīr o be-axbār o be-aš'ār
gar in goftār-e u bāvar nay-āyad
*torā zāher šavad z-in pas be-kerdār*¹⁸⁶

He will now adorn the royal library
 with the help of God, the sole possessor of power.

Greater than any library on the face of the earth
 will he buildup its collection;
 With joy will he jump up each morning
 and sweep each of its rooms with his cheeks.

¹⁸⁵ see the chapter "the Nakkaṣhane" and appendix 3, giving a register of the painters and bookbinders thus employed, in *Esin Atıl, Age of Sultan Süleyman*, 29ff and 289-99. Also her chapter "The Art of the Book" in *Turkish Art*, ed. *Esin Atıl*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press and New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1980), 137-238.

¹⁸⁶ *Divān-e Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān*, 224.

He will approach it with spirit, like a building,
 and there is no architect like this servant.
 He will organize [the books] in each branch of
 knowledge
 for each person desires to acquire a different type
 of knowledge;
 He will load its every shelf and every ledge
 with commentaries and histories and poems.
 If you do not believe these words,
 it will soon become apparent to you in deeds.

In another poem written shortly afterwards, Mas'ud Sa'd
 promises that he will quickly add any new and interesting
 poems recited at court to the royal library. He himself plans
 to contribute at least one poem per week, perhaps insinuating
 that there is no one else at court who can fittingly
 accomplish this:

*dār al-kotob emruz be-bandeh-st mofavvaž
 in 'ezz o šaraf gašt marā rotbat-e vālā
 pas zud co ārāsteh ganj-i konam-aš man
 gar tāzeh mešāl-i šāvad az majles-e 'alā
 andiše-ye ān dāram o har hafteh-i āram
 zi šadr-e rafi'-e to yeki medhat-e ġarrā¹⁸⁷*

The royal library is now entrusted to this servant,
 an honor and distinction conferred high rank on me.
 And so I will soon make of it a splendid treasure
 if any fresh orders are issued from
 the Royal convivia.
 I plan to and will offer every week
 to your exalted throne one beauteous panegyric.

Learned men, scholars and poets, have often also been the
 scribes responsible for the publication and preservation of
 the works of Persian poets. It was the secretary Moḥammad
 Golandām and the calligrapher Morvārid who were responsible
 for the creation of the *Divān* of Hāfez, Sanā'i who edited
 Mas'ud Sa'd's *Divān*, and Anvari who copied out the *Divān* of

¹⁸⁷ *Divān-e Mas'ud Sa'd*, 18.

Qaṭrān-e Tabrizi in a manuscript dated 529/1135 that survives to this day.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, textual scholars of the present century share a rather low opinion of the scribes who have transmitted the written works of Persian literature to us. Mas'ud Farzān is representative of the twentieth century Iranian view of the scribal profession in his attribution of omissions, alterations, metathesis and transposition to the carelessness of copyists.¹⁸⁹ Bahār asserts that the scribes who produced books in Iran were of inferior learning to the *warrāqin* of Abbasid Baghdad, scribes like Ibn al-Nadīm or Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī, but then goes on to say that the more learned the scribe, the more alterations he produced in the text.¹⁹⁰ Bahār, in fact, goes so far as to conclude that a nearly illiterate scribe would be more reliable than a cultured and literate one (except, of course, in the case of an author's autograph copy), for an erudite scribe was much more likely to have introduced emendations, interpolations or

¹⁸⁸ See *Divān-e Ḥakīm Qaṭrān-e Tabrizi*, ed. Moḥammad Naxjavāni, ed. (Tehran: Cāpxāneh-ye Fardīn, 1362/1983), xix-xx and xxiv-xxvi. Minovi has apparently expressed some skepticism about the provenance of this manuscript from the library of Ja'far Solṭān al-Qorrā'i (Naxjavāni, xi, cites Ṣafā in this regard).

¹⁸⁹ *Maqālāt-e Farzān*, ed. Aḥmad Edāreh-ci Gilāni, (Tehran: Cāpxāneh-ye Ḥaydari, 1356/1978), 19. He was speaking here specifically of Kalileh va Demneh-ye Bahrām-šāhi, but his views can also be extended to the transmission tradition as a whole. It should not go unmentioned that Farzān was also highly critical of several scholarly editions undertaken by his contemporaries.

¹⁹⁰ M. T. Bahār, *Sabk-šenāsi*, op. cit., 290-91.

modernizations in the text, and to have excised passages that were not comprehensible to him.¹⁹¹

In his *Sabk-šenāsi*, Bahār juxtaposes parallel passages of two prose texts, the Persian translation of Ṭabari's *Tārix* and Avicenna's *Dāneš-nāmeḥ-ye 'Alā'i*, taken from various manuscripts, ranging in time between the 7th/13th and 13th/19th centuries. Examination of these passages makes clear that the general purpose of scribes was not to preserve the exact wording of manuscripts, the "Urtext" of the author. Generally speaking, it is evident that the older forms of Persian words were modernized, the syntax and word order was sometimes changed to reflect the current style, some archaic or obsolete Persian words are replaced with more fashionable Arabic words, and details of traditional stories with which the scribe is familiar may be interpolated.¹⁹² It is clear that scribes considered themselves to be copying books not as a scholarly endeavor, but as a commercial and pedagogical one. Naturally, the objective was to produce a product that would please the client who was paying for the manuscript, and if the copyist could employ his knowledge or skill to make the text easier or more palatable for the individual who commissioned it or for an imagined potential buyer, whose taste and level of education were undoubtedly known to the copyist, he would, of course, not hesitate to introduce

¹⁹¹ Bahār, *Sabk-šenāsi*, 1:283, 291.

¹⁹² *ibid.*, 1:292-7.

textual changes, illustrations, commentary, etc.¹⁹³

Copyists might frequently insert verses by poets who lived long after the author of a given work they were transcribing, but nevertheless were felt to add to the beauty, authority or currency of the text. For example, lines of Sa'di (d. c. 691/1292) can be found in a 13th/19th century printed edition of the *Qābus-nāme* (w. c. 462/1080); Jāmi's verse (d. 898/1493) can be seen in the *Tārix-e Sistān* (the second part of which was completed about 725/1325), and the poetry of Mo'ezzi (d. before 521/1127) appears in Asadi's (d. 465/1073) *Loḡat al-fors*.¹⁹⁴ As though both surprised and affronted, Bahār laments the failure of scribes to collate multiple copies of the texts they produced and exclaims:

Not one Persian manuscript has so far been discovered that was a product of critical editing and not one manuscript has come down to us that was free of error.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ For a discussion of the aims and intentions of medieval Persian biographical and historical works, the often contrasting critical objectives with which modern scholars utilize these sources and the disappointing results that can thus be obtained, see the two articles by M. Este'lāmi, "Mas'uliat-e melli va farhangī-ye mā dar estenād beh tadkereh-hā, nosxeh-hā-ye xaṭṭi va digar manābe'-e kohan," and "Niāz beh yek towẓih-e rošan-tar," both in *Iran Shenasi*, 1:2 (Summer 1368/1989): 350-58 and 6:1 (Spring 1373/1994): 44-51, respectively.

¹⁹⁴ Bahār, *Sabk-šenāsi*, 1:291.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 1:291. This statement of Bahār is, however, an exaggeration. As we have seen, critical editions of the *Ḥadiqat* of Sanā'i and the *Divān* of Hāfez, among other works, have been attempted by medieval Persian scholars, though obviously with somewhat different assumptions and techniques than are employed today. With respect to errors, Bahār is undoubtedly correct, though it is to be greatly doubted that

Sometimes a later scribe or poet might permanently alter the manuscript tradition of a given work by quoting an earlier poet's verse in slightly different form, whether through a faulty memory or by way of deliberate improvement. Such was the case with Sa'di's quotation of a line he attributed to Ferdowsi:

*May-āzār mur-i keh dāneh-keš ast
keh jān dārad o jān-e širin xvoš ast*

Do not harm the ant which gathers crumbs
for it has life and sweet life is pleasant,

which, prior to Sa'di's "quotation" of the line in his *Bustān*, was recorded in the oldest *Šāh-nāme* manuscripts as:

*ma-koš murak-i rā keh ruzi-keš ast
keh u niz jān dārad o jān xvoš ast*

Do not kill that little ant which bears its food
for it too has a soul and life is sweet.

Subsequently, however, the scribes copying out this verse by and large remembered and recorded Sa'di's "improved" version in place of Ferdowsi's original, and the manuscript tradition, as well as the popular conception of what Ferdowsi had said, was forever after altered.¹⁹⁶

any such thing as an error-free edition--modern or medieval, critical or authorial--exists.

¹⁹⁶ Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Nofud-e Bustān dar Šāh-nāme," *Iran Nāme* 3, 4 (Summer 1364/1985): 624-6.

Editorial Theory

Taking the trouble to consult other manuscripts of a text, if it be discerned in a medieval scribe or scribe-scholar, is dubbed "contamination." When practised by a modern scribe-scholar (and the modern editor is no more than that) it is termed "scholarship."

--Leonard Boyle, O.P.¹⁹⁷

Out of my mind the golden ointment rained,
And my ears made the blowing hymns they heard.
I was myself the compass of that sea:
I was the world in which I walked, and what I saw
Or heard or felt came not but from myself;
And there I found myself more truly and more strange.

--From Wallace Stevens, "Tea at the Palaz of Hoon"

We have seen a few instances in which editors in later periods did collate a number of manuscripts to make editions of the *Šāh-nāme*, the *Hadīqat* and the *Divān* of *Hāfez*. This probably happened quite frequently, but such editors did not approach the task with the same concerns and techniques of *recensio* and *emendatio* established by Lachmann (particularly in his 1831 edition of the New Testament, his 1850 edition of Lucretius)¹⁹⁸ for vetting scribal interpolations and establishing the original old forms of words, syntax and orthography. Therefore, they cannot possibly be expected to produce the results that a modern editor might strive to achieve. Indeed, many modern textual critics are no longer in agreement with the assumptions or procedures of Lachmannian

¹⁹⁷ Boyle, "'Epistulae Venerunt Parum Dulces'" The Place of Codicology in the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts," in *Editing and Editors: A Retrospect*, Richard Landon, ed., (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1988), 30.

¹⁹⁸ For a codification of the principles of the Lachmann school, see P. Maas, *Textual Criticism*, tr. Barbara Flower, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958), originally published in German as *Textkritik* (Leipzig, 1937) and several times revised.

editing: some, like Bédier, have argued for the adoption of a single "best-text" (*codex optimus*) with minimal editorial interference; others, like W. Greg and F. Bowers, for the adoption of one manuscript as the "copy-text," to be amended in specific readings as required by other manuscripts; yet others, like McGann and McKenzie, argue that texts are social products and that we can not hope to recover pure authorial intention, even in the case of modern texts, since all works of art are collaborative efforts.¹⁹⁹

By foregrounding the question of bibliographic codes, by which he means the physical context of a work's reproduction--layout on the page, order of appearance within a collection, accompanying illustrations, headings, typeface, bindings, etc.--as distinct from the question of a text's linguistic codes (the "text," or actual words of a piece of literature, historically the subject proper of textual editing), J. McGann has shown how the physical appearance of a work and the context in which it circulates contributes substantially to the creation of its meaning.²⁰⁰ Even the meaning of texts written within the last century can be significantly altered through reproduction in anthologies or collected works, in a different bibliographic or visual context, even with the

¹⁹⁹ This synopsis follows that given by Tanselle, "Textual Criticism," *New Princeton Encyclopedia*, 1273-6.

²⁰⁰ See especially, his *The Textual Condition*, and *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* and also "What is Critical Editing," *Text* 5 (1991):15-29.

author's approval and at his instruction, whether the actual linguistic text is revised or not. For example, several of W. B. Yeats's poems, published repeatedly in different formats while he was still alive, beg for significantly different readings in the different orders and the various bibliographic contexts in which they appear.²⁰¹ We should also carefully question the assumption that a perfect critical edition of a work of medieval literature will somehow be re-creating the text as the author would want; a critical apparatus, the imprimatur of a university and distribution in a scholarly milieu, and the status as classic that such attention bestows upon a text, already alters our view of it, as Heisenberg's famous principle states.²⁰² It has been pointed out that:

...the greatest threat to an editor's independence and to an unprejudiced presentation of a textual tradition is the presence of an existing edition. Yet this threat is rarely seen for what it is, the modern equivalent of what is decried as "contamination" in a medieval setting....codicology is a history of the fortunes not of a text as text, but of a text as it is carried by codices. It is a simple and necessary recognition of the fact that texts have survived because of codices, and that each codex in turn carries a text in its own unique fashion.²⁰³

²⁰¹ G. Bornstein, "What is the Text of a Poem by Yeats?," in *Palimpsest: Editorial Theory in the Humanities*, ed. G. Bornstein and Ralph Williams, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 167-193.

²⁰² Though the "uncertainty" principle was formulated with respect to sub-atomic physics, Georges Gurvitch has argued that in the humanities and social sciences the method of observation will likewise affect the object seen. See his *Dialectique et sociologie* (Paris: Flammarion, 1962).

²⁰³ Boyle, op. cit., 31, 46.

In recent textual criticism, linguistically "corrupt" manuscripts have actually become theoretically more important in some ways than accurate or even autograph texts, because of the illumination they shed on the reception history of a work, and the process by which a modern scholarly editor arrives at a critical text has, in some circles, been reduced to little more than a further scribal intrusion. As D. Pearsall notes:

The tyranny exerted by 'the critical edition' is now recognised, and scholars are learning the value of 'bad manuscripts': how in the work of interfering and meddling scribes, for instance, can be seen the activities of our first literary critics. The methods of compilers and manuscript editors of all kinds, whether professional or amateur, need to be studied, if we are to understand the reception and readership assumed for the literary works contained in their collections. The manuscript context of particular works needs to be understood in detail; matters of layout and format give an insight into the ways in which medieval poems were understood to exist; changes in handwriting, ink, or paper are often clues to the nature of the exemplars, even the authors' copies, with which scribes were working; the excerpting, abridging and paraphrasing of certain major works give unrivalled access to the modes of thought within which such works were first read and used; and the pictures provided by early illustrators always promise a glimpse of an authentic primary response to a text.²⁰⁴

As an alternative to the establishment of an "authoritative" text, some editors now consider the reconstruction of the reception history of a particular work or author of equal or perhaps even greater importance.²⁰⁵ Of course, the

²⁰⁴ D. Pearsall, ed., *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England* (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer and Totowa, N.J.: Biblio Distribution Services, 1983), 1-2.

²⁰⁵ Some time ago a project to catalogue all of the existing manuscripts of St. Augustine, organized by nation of presumed origin, date, and present location was begun. In the

reconstruction of a stemmata, or genealogical relationship, for the known manuscripts has been an objective of traditional textual criticism since Lachmann's time, at least. Beyond this, though, manuscripts can be examined for clues about the context in which a work was usually received, the importance it held in the canon, how widely it was disseminated, how readers' understanding of it changed over time, etc. In such an inquiry, the value of the linguistically "bad" manuscripts, so excoriated by Bahār, can be even more useful than those manuscripts which more closely approximate the "Urtext."²⁰⁶

No matter what method an editor chooses to follow, a better understanding of the various purposes of Persian scribes in copying manuscripts and of the history of Persian codicology²⁰⁷ would likely soften the harsh condemnations

process, new letters (the so-called Divjak letters) and sermons were discovered in relatively younger manuscripts in Mainz, Montpellier and Paris. See *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, which began publication in 1969 under the auspices of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, in the series: *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter*.

²⁰⁶ For a comprehensive transmission history of the Arabic text of Sībawayh's grammar and an example of what such an approach can teach us, see Geneviève Humbert, *Les voies de la transmission du Kitāb de Sībawayhi* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

²⁰⁷ Extremely useful handbooks and theoretical inquiries have been written by classicists on various aspects of the manuscript traditions of Greek and Latin literature. For a synopsis see *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, s.v. "texts, transmission of ancient," op. cit. For in depth studies see F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913); L. D. Reynolds and N. G.

that have been pronounced on them. It would also help us to evaluate better the existing testaments to the works of the past. Therefore, in addition to establishing a reception history for each individual author, a general history of book production and reading, insofar as it is possible to reconstruct, is a desideratum which would enhance the ability of textual scholars editing a given work to accurately assess the provenance, purpose and reliability of the various manuscripts that have survived.

Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars--A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); James Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1972); Martin West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique applicable to Greek and Latin texts* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1973); J. Finegan, *New Testament Manuscripts*, op. cit.; John Grant, ed., *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1987); Eldon Epp and Gordon Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993). For other literatures, see S. Prete, *Observations on the History of Textual Criticism in the Medieval and Renaissance Periods* (Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's University Press, n.d., 1969?); A. J. Minnis and C. Brewer, *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1992).

Ut Pictura Poesis: From Text to Book to Cultural Icon

A picture shows me at a glance what it takes dozens of pages of a book to expound.

--Ivan Turgenev, *Fathers and Sons*, 1862

If it was only the dark voice of the sea
That rose, or even colored by many waves;
If it was only the outer voice of sky
And cloud, of the sunken coral water-walled,
However, clear, it would have been deep air,
The heaving speech of air, a summer sound
Repeated in a summer without end
And sound alone. But it was more than that,
More even than her voice, and ours, among
The meaningless plungings of water and the wind,
Theatrical distances, bronze shadows heaped
On high horizons, mountainous atmospheres
Of sky and sea.

--Wallace Stevens, From "The Idea of Order at Key West"

Illustrations, though occasionally attested in literary references prior to the 5th/12th century, became widely popular for Arabic literary texts only in the 6th/13th century, probably as books became consumer items for the urban bourgeoisie.²⁰⁸ Though the illustration of literary texts lost its vogue in Arab manuscripts after this period, it is only in the 8th/14th century that the practice became common in Iran, where it is preeminently associated with courtly patronage.²⁰⁹ T. Lentz and G. Lowry have argued that the Timurid dynasty's conspicuous official patronage of lavishly illustrated and beautifully scripted books of Persian poetry

²⁰⁸ Grabar, *Illustrations*, 148-9 and 152-4. Grabar argues that the illustrators, who were sometimes also the copyists/bookmakers in the case of the *Maqāmāt*, were attempting to "persuade a certain social class to acquire illustrated rather than unadorned manuscripts" (154).

²⁰⁹ One could postulate the existence of illustrated manuscripts from an earlier period that have now almost entirely disappeared, but this seems unlikely in light of the effort to preserve and collect such treasures in later eras.

transformed these cultural artifacts into mirrors or icons of state power and authority.²¹⁰ Robinson describes the tradition, established by Bāysonqor, of commissioning a *Šāh-nāmeḥ* at or near the beginning of one's reign "as a sort of status-symbol or advertisement of regal power."²¹¹ P. Losensky notes the Timurid's "bibliophilism" that led to the commissioning of important and ambitious "scholarly editions," such as the 907/1502 revised edition of the *Divān* of *Hāfez*, Sultan Bāysonqor's collection of the *Kolliāt* of Amir Xosrow, and his recension of Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāmeḥ*,²¹² commissioned in 829/1426 and completed on 5 Jomādā I, 833/30 January 1430. As Khaleghi-Motlagh points out, however, the purpose of this latter recension was not to establish a critical edition, but to "modernize the language of the text and to add verses to it," and this text, "one of the most voluminous of all *Šāh-*

²¹⁰ T. Lentz and G. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1989), 114. Indeed, many such poems, delivered before or presented to the past monarchs of Iran, functioned similarly as emblems of royal power and glory. The Timurids appropriated the written record of these symbols of the past by transforming them into visual and cultural icons of present power.

²¹¹ B. W. Robinson, "Persian Painting and the National Epic," *Proceedings of the British Academy, London* 68 (1982), 285.

²¹² P. Losensky, "Welcoming Fighānī," *op. cit.*, 148-9.

nāma manuscripts, with more than 58,000 verses,²¹³ was made the basis for a famous, but by comparison very sparsely, illustrated version of the epic, still extant.²¹⁴ Bāysonqor also commissioned a two-volume illustrated copy of Sa'di's *Golestān* in 830/1426-7, an 831/1427-8 illustrated copy of Xvāju-ye Kermāni's *Homāy o Homāyun*, and at least two illustrated editions of *Kalileh va Demneh*.²¹⁵ The suggestion has been made to draw up stemmata for the illustrations of works that are commonly illustrated;²¹⁶ though the art

²¹³ Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Bāysonqori Šāh-nāma," *EIr*, vol. 4, fasc. 1, 9-10. Losenky's characterization of the Bāysonqori edition as prepared by "a committee of scholars" ("Welcoming Fighāni," op. cit., 148) may be somewhat optimistic. His interpretation of E. Yarshater's statement in the English introduction to Khaleghi-Motlagh's edition of the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, to the effect that Bāysonqor's edition "Completed in 829/1426 [sic]...served as the foundation of all but the most recent published editions of the epic," is at variance with Khaleghi Motlagh (*EIr*, op. cit., 9), who states that despite its inadequacies, the Bāysonqori "manuscript and its introduction," an introduction which is itself "full of accretions about the epic and its author in which even known historical figures are misidentified," "have served as the basis of many subsequent manuscripts." Khaleghi-Motlagh values this edition primarily for its illustrated version. The notion that the Bāysonqor text set a standard for all later manuscripts derives from Rypka (*History*, 158) and from Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, 1.

²¹⁴ T. Lentz, "Bāysonqorī Šāh-nāma, ii. The Paintings," *EIr*, 4, fasc. 1, 10-11. This book has 21 illustrations, 19 accompanying the text, whereas the mid-14th century A.D. Demotte *Šāh-nāmeḥ* had at least 58 illustrations and at least one Safavid edition has 258.

²¹⁵ Lentz, "Bāysonqori Šāh-nāmeḥ," 10, and H. R. Roemer, "Bāysonqor, Ġiāṭ-al-Din," *EIr*, vol. 4., fasc. 1, 6-9. The Sa'di manuscript is now in the Chester Beatty Library; a *Kalileh va Demneh* executed in 833/1429, is in Istanbul's Topkapi Saray Library, R. 1022.

²¹⁶ Grabar, *Illustrations*, 135.

history of manuscripts does not necessarily follow the same trajectory as the textual history of those same manuscripts, nevertheless, it may be possible to further elucidate the manuscript history of Persian books by learning more about the illustration models particular copies draw upon.

The seeming vogue among Timurid and Safavid artists,²¹⁷ as well as their Mughal counterparts,²¹⁸ for depictions of readers or calligraphers occupied with books in bucolic settings seems to reflect this new ontological status of the book, and perhaps a change in the principal means of experiencing poetry, the growth of literacy, a change in the habits of reading or simply a greater availability of books.

²¹⁷ Examples of solitary readers include a portrait of a Timurid prince of the early 16th century from the Golestān Library reproduced in V. Kubičová, *Persian Miniatures*, trans. R. Finlayson-Samsour, (London: Spring Books, n.d.) plate 38; a Safavid portrait of a noblewoman seated on the ground leaning over a book, shown in M. L. Swietochowski and S. Babaie, *Persian Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 6; Sultan Hosayn's reputation as a patron of illuminated books can be seen in the portrait of him surrounded by calligraphers and artists in a Herat style miniature dated 1492, published in N. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, op. cit., 235; a mid-seventeenth century A.D. portrait of a youth by Moḥammad Qāsem Moṣavver, who holds a large calligraphic sample of single line of verse, reproduced in *Catalogue of Highly Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London?: Sotheby and Company, 1969), 37 and facing.

²¹⁸ See the 11th/17th century (?) Mughal drawing of an aristocratic youth seated on a stool reading attributed to Nāder al-Zamān reproduced in E. Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington, D.C.: The Freer Gallery of Art, 1978), 114; and the books evident in the margins of another Mughal painting of the same era, in A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 314 (c.f. also 346-7, 352-3 and 387 for further examples of depictions of books).

However, there are instances of *Šāh-nāme* manuscripts in which parts of the poetic text have been erased by later owners to make room for illustrations,²¹⁹ so it might be that the fetish for the written word centered on looking at and owning books, or more precisely albums of miniatures and calligraphic samples,²²⁰ more than actually reading long texts. At some point plundering, rather than burning, conquered libraries became the common practice, adding to the artistic treasures and prestige of the victorious party's personal or state library. The Ottoman Selim I (r. 1512-20), for example, brought many a captured book and painter to Istanbul from his campaigns in Iran, Syria and Egypt, and Süleyman (r. 1520-1566) even bore away as booty from the 1526 conquest of Budapest the library of Matthias Corvinus,²²¹ indicating that books were valued as art objects and perhaps also as symbols of state power or souvenirs of military victories.

There are also a great number of instances where existing manuscripts were restored, rebound, embellished or cut up and inserted in a new setting. Süleyman the Magnificent had the second part of the 30-volume copy of the Koran calligraphed in

²¹⁹ Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Dast-nevis," op. cit., 66-7, describes an Istanbul manuscript of 903/1498 thus altered.

²²⁰ See the calligraphers and painters at work in the school for artists depicted in a manuscript of Ṭusi's *Axlāq-e Nāṣeri* made for the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, around 1595 A.D.; Yasin Hamid Safad, *Islamic Calligraphy*, (Boulder, Co.: Shambala, 1979), 90.

²²¹ Atil, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, 66-7.

682/1284 by Yāqūt al-Mustaṣimī (nicknamed Qiblat al-Kuttāb, the Cynosure of Bookmen, d. 698/1299 or shortly before) redone three centuries later by cutting out the pages, pasting them on new sheets with gold-stamped leather covers, all in the 16th century style.²²² Another Koran, calligraphed by 'Abd Allāh Ṣayrafi in 745/1345, was made into a new edition with the help of at least three different artists and craftsmen, who illuminated, bound and annotated the copy over a period of two or three years between 1554-1557.²²³ Not just old Korans, but old copies of Persian literary manuscripts were similarly preserved and periodically rebound, in what must have been a quite common practice.²²⁴

It is interesting to note that in many pictures having Persian poets for their subject, though books are often depicted, they are frequently depicted closed, lying on the ground. Evidently we are to understand them as mere *aide-mémoires* to the conversation (usually signalled by body

²²² Atıl, *Age of Süleyman*, 52-3. Compare the number of multi-volume Koran sets done in Muslim Andalusia, described by S. Khemir, "The Arts of the Book," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. J. Dodds, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 115-125, and 310-311.

²²³ *ibid.*, 54.

²²⁴ The manuscript of Zīā al-Din Naxšabi's *Ṭuṭi-nāmeḥ* now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, for example, was re-bound and re-cut at least twice before it received a European binding in the 19th century. See P. Chandra, *Ṭuṭi-Nāma, Tales of a Parrot-Das Papageienbuch*, (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976), 77.

language and hand gestures rather than the mouth),²²⁵ contemplation²²⁶ or dancing that is taking place.²²⁷ Such pictures would include Ferdowsi shown entering the Ghaznavid court;²²⁸ Mo'ezzi in the retinue of Sultan Sanjar (who, in an

²²⁵ C.f., Grabar's characterization of the iconography of speaking and listening in the Maqāmāt illustrations, op. cit., 127-8. A depiction of conversation over closed books can be seen in a Bodleian Library manuscript (Elliot # 339, Ethé # 2120, fol. 95b), copied in 890/1485, reproduced in T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, 2nd ed., (New York: Dover, 1965), plate 43 (facing 120). Reproduced in A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 219, is a youth, closed book at his knees, addressing an older man, painted by Moḥammad Eṣfahāni, c. 1565-1575. Reproduced in G. Lowry with S. Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection*, (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 166-7, is a portrait from an album of calligraphy and paintings commissioned by Shah Jahān, c. 1650, of the Mughal emperor Babur talking to his son, Homāyun, whose hand rests atop a closed book. In M. M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII Centuries Miniatures*, ed. Kamal S. Aini, (Dushanbe: Irfon Printing House, 1974), 54, we encounter folio 27 of a 944/1538 manuscript of Helāli, which depicts a seated darvish whose book, pen and inkwell lie at his side as he converses with the Shah, whose chase of a gazelle has brought him to the site.

²²⁶ As in the case of the mystic absorbed in contemplation while holding a large closed book in one hand (from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston), Arnold, plate 39, between 117-18.

²²⁷ As in the dancing dervishes of Constantinople, where two closed books rest on the bench, from a miniature formerly in the possession of E. N. Adler, shown in Arnold, facing 118.

²²⁸ e.g., the miniature attributed to Āqā Mirak, dated ca. 1532 A.D., from the recto of folio 7, the first illustration of the Houghton *Šāh-nāme* (for Šāh Ṭahmāsp), reproduced in S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501-1576*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1979), frontispiece and 42-3, in which the fabled stable of Ghaznavid poets sit in the presence of the Shah, Maḥmud. One poet ('Asjadi, 'Onṣori, or Farroxi?) talks to the Shah, another poet in an *ad locutio* pose holds a closed book, while Ferdowsi stands at a distance waiting to be

obvious anachronism, are wearing Mongol headgear except for the poet, who is turbaned), proceeding out to sight the new moon which signals the end of the fast of Ramazān;²²⁹ Nezāmi, shown addressing his young son in the presence of friends;²³⁰ 'Aṭṭār, depicted as a venerable old man talking with his

summoned. The second poet apparently has inserted his finger in the closed book to mark his place in the text, while the virtues of the verses are discussed. Similar scenes are also included in other *Šāh-nāmeḥ* manuscripts, including Or. 1403 f10a (cat. no. 117.3), dated 841/1437, and Or. 12688 f8b (cat. no. 127.1), dated 850/1446; and in a painting by Mozaffar 'Ali in one manuscript of Asadi's *Garšāsp-nāmeḥ* executed at Qazvin in 981/1573. See N. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1977), 33-4, 50, 53, and A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, plate 3, between pages 78-9.

²²⁹ Manuscript 132 in the India Office Library, dated by its scribe, 'Abd al-Mo'men al-'Alawi al-Kāšī, between *Du al-Qa'deh* 713/Feb-March 1314 and *Du al-Qa'deh* 714/Feb 1315. This scene depicts a situation in which a poet would probably not be reciting verses, so it is not surprising that we do not see any books here. Other pictures from this same manuscript, an anthology of poetic *divāns*, depict a number of scenes in which a poet (also possibly Mo'ezzi?) is reading from a sock-like Chinese scroll to his patron; see B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library: A Descriptive Catalogue*, (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976), 4-10. Although it is entirely possible that poets recited longer poems, such as Mo'ezzi's *qaṣidehs*, from a written prompt, these scenes of reading from scrolls seem to reflect a Mongol practice, as scrolls were not apparently used in Iran since the Sasanian period, when the Roman codex format became popular in Iran; see Barbara Brend, "The Arts of the Book," *op. cit.*, 232. In any case, the scroll seems to be an *aide-mémoire* for the poet, whose patron is experiencing the poem aurally and not by reading.

²³⁰ While the son has a book open at his knee, the books at the knee of the poet and of his friends are closed. From a page of an album attributed to Behzād and dated 887/1482, now in Geneva's Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, reproduced in Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 100.

disciples;²³¹ Sa'di, who may be the speaker holding the closed book engaging in lively conversation with a traveller,²³² and is shown elsewhere sitting on a carpet in a garden at night absorbed in conversation;²³³ Rumi, who is presented by 'Aṭṭār with a copy of his *Asrār-nāmeḥ* in an apocryphal meeting;²³⁴ 'Erāqi, shown dancing with mendicant dervishes;²³⁵ Jāmi, who may be the dervish seen dancing between two books, candles and what is apparently a pen case and ink pot all set on a carpet,²³⁶ but is certainly the subject of a picture attributed to Behzād showing Jāmi and his circle engaged in lively conversation with closed books lying

²³¹ From a Bodleian Library manuscript (Ouseley Add. 24) of the *Majāles al-'oṣṣāq*, copied in 959/1552 and reproduced in Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, plate 46, between 124-5.

²³² From a manuscript of Sa'di's *Golestān* done in the Mughal court at Agra about 1605 A.D., reproduced in N. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 209.

²³³ From a manuscript dated 1426, attributed to the Bāysonqor academy, in the Chester Beatty Library. Reproduced in B. W. Robinson, *Persian Drawings From the 14th through the 19th Century*, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1965), 46.

²³⁴ From a manuscript of the *Nafahāt al-ons* (British Library Or. 1362, f287a) copied at Agra for the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1012/1603; see Titley, *Miniatures From Persian*, 69 (cat. no. 207.14).

²³⁵ From a manuscript of the *Majāles al-'oṣṣāq* manuscript, reproduced in Arnold, op. cit., plate 45.

²³⁶ In a miniature from a manuscript of Jāmi's poems (in the possession of D.G. Kelekian), dated 1496, reproduced in A. U. Pope, *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1945), 169.

on the ground, as if discussing a text read in class.²³⁷

Interestingly, there is a whole genre of portraits of poets involved in activities that have no relation whatsoever to their profession, including Sanā'i (pictured outside the butcher boy's shop, a theme mentioned in several of his poems, taking off his shoes²³⁸ and in an encounter with a shepherd as the poet rides a mule),²³⁹ Sa'di (in the public baths with Homām al-Din Tabrizi),²⁴⁰ Šams-e Tabrizi (playing chess with a Christian),²⁴¹ and Hāfez (which shows the mustachioed poet walking through a European-looking landscape carrying a bowl of flowers, an axe over his shoulder, a horn under his arm, and what looks like a book tied to his belt).²⁴²

It is certainly worth noting that the works of Sanā'i, in comparison with those of Ferdowsi, Nezāmi, Sa'di or Hāfez, are sparsely illustrated. A 16th century A.D. manuscript of

²³⁷ From the collection of Mr. Bernard Berenson, reproduced in Arnold, plate 40, between 117-18.

²³⁸ From a manuscript (British Library, Or. 11837, f61b), in the Shiraz style dating to about 1560 A.D. Described in N. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts*, 75 (cat. no. 229.14).

²³⁹ From a copy of the *Majāles al-'oššāq* (India Office #1138, f57b) dating to about 1600 A.D. Described in Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, 139 (cat. no. 476).

²⁴⁰ Titley, *Miniatures*, op. cit., 75 (cat. no. 229.34).

²⁴¹ *ibid.*, 75 (cat. no. 229.28).

²⁴² On the doublure of the front cover of a *Divān* of Hāfez (India Office ms 2863), apparently from the late eighteenth century A.D., in the Zand style. See Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office*, 238-9.

Sanā'i's *Divān*, which apparently originated in Qazvin but was subsequently reworked and expanded with the works of other poets, contains six miniatures, none of which pertain to the subjects of Sanā'i's *Divān*.²⁴³ Another *Divān* manuscript, this from the 19th century, has just one poor-quality line-drawing of a princess and her retinue, which is unrelated to the text.²⁴⁴ Somewhat more relevant to the text are the seven miniatures punctuating a 318-folio text of the *Hadiqat*, copied by Moḥammad al-Qevāmi in Rajab 1016/November 1607.²⁴⁵ A drawing of the crucifixion of the mystic al-Hallāj illustrates one line of another *Hadiqat* manuscript.²⁴⁶ de Bruijn reproduces a manuscript from another copy of the *Hadiqat*, dated 987/1579, showing Sanā'i as an old man sitting before the Sultan of Ghazna, apparently reading to him from an open folio or album, presumably the dedication to the work.²⁴⁷ In the modern period, M. T. Bahār provides a drawing and a detailed description of Sanā'i, based upon a dream he had on 17 Āḍar 1311/8 December 1932, in which Bahār

²⁴³ Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, 49-52.

²⁴⁴ Titley, *Miniatures from Persian*, 151, cat. #365.

²⁴⁵ Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library*, 226-7, and 229-32, cat. #661-7.

²⁴⁶ Reproduced in Massignon, *Passion of al-Hallāj*, v.3, plate 39, between pages 178-9. The source is specified as Ms. Majmu'a, Coll. Nasrullāh Taqavī, photo by H. Corbin.

²⁴⁷ Folio 1b of MS Or. 1651 in the Leiden University Library, reproduced as the frontispiece to de Bruijn, *OPP*.

went to Khorasan and saw the famous poet. Sanā'i appeared to him of medium height, well-proportioned though somewhat chubby (*qadri farbeh*), and of pleasant appearance. He was wearing a white turban wound around a *mevlevi* cap, and an autumn 'abā over top a pea-green *gabā* that fastened under the arm, without a waistband. Bahār depicts Sanā'i sitting cross-legged, with a long, black, curled beard, coiffed in three stages (*riš-e boland keh qadri moja`ad va seh darajeh bud*), holding a large, closed book at the front of his lap, under his folded hands.²⁴⁸

There are a few other exceptions to the tendency to avoid the depiction of poets reading.²⁴⁹ One notable exception departs from the previously mentioned iconography of Ferdowsi at the Ghaznavid court; in this case, instead of a few poets in seclusion with the king, the whole court is assembled and Ferdowsi humbly reads his *Šāh-nāme* from a book held open in

²⁴⁸ Mirzā Zādeh, "Šabih-e Sanā'i beh qalam-e Bahār," *Rāh-namā-ye Ketāb* 7, 10-12 (Winter 1353/1974-75): 778-781. Bahār, who recorded this dream in his journal, paid particular attention to the appearance of Sanā'i, as he felt the dream to have been a "true" vision of Sanā'i, and suggested that an artist might want to paint the poet on the basis of his description (780-81).

²⁴⁹ Especially among Ottoman and Mughal manuscripts, which may reflect either a different cultural or simply a later, and more bookish, tradition. See for example, the picture of the Ottoman poet Bāqi, dating from the second half of the 16th century A.D., reading his *Divān* to a youth, as reproduced in Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 139. I have already mentioned one early notable Persian exception in which a poet is shown reading to a patron from a Chinese scroll (*supra*, n231), depicted in the form of a long stocking, and obviously reflecting a Mongol tradition of writing and reciting.

his hands.²⁵⁰ One miniature shows an elder Amir Xosrow kneeling at the feet of a youngish 'Alā al-Din Xalji (r. 1396-1316), reading from a thin folio, presumably the dedication to the ruler of his *Xamseh*.²⁵¹ A comprehensive listing of such scenes, categorized by provenance (Ottoman Turkey, Mughal India, various parts of Iran) and date might provide a basis for further conclusions about the sociology of reading in various places and times. Nevertheless, one gets the impression that the books in scenes featuring Persian poets are iconic in function, signaling the profession of the conversants or the nature of the gathering, and are not represented as an integral part of the process of poetry recitation, at least in the early periods. It is true that depictions of poets, except some of those rendered in the 9th/15th century and later, were not based on a living subject and are therefore prone to anachronism. Even so, it seems likely that experiencing poetry--particularly ghazal poetry--through books became more rather than less common in later periods, so the fact that early poets are represented in conversation rather than reading from books might reflect a

²⁵⁰ From the Houghton *Šāh-nāme*, f.10 recto, in a miniature attributed to Mir Moṣavver, c. 1522-1530, reproduced in S. C. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 34-5.

²⁵¹ Amir Xosrow was apparently unhappy with the recompense he received from this Sultan, but the illustration of the scene was executed in Balx in 909/1504, almost two centuries after the fact. See Lowry and Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye*, 134-5.

continuing attitude toward poetry as an oral artform in the first instance, though as the presence of books in many of these illustrations indicated, especially from the Safavid period onward, when calligraphy perhaps enjoyed pride of place among the visual arts, poetry was nevertheless associated with writing.

There are, however, as noted above, a great number of miniatures which do depict individuals, not necessarily poets, reading from books, or as is often the case, small folios, often held open as one might hold a picture album rather than a book.²⁵² As one might expect, this is quite common in school scenes,²⁵³ which in one example not only shows the boys reading and writing, but also making, or washing clean,

²⁵² Whether this is simply an iconographic convention or represents an actual tendency to orient the paper such that the scribe writes across its width rather than down its length is unclear.

²⁵³ See the numerous scenes of children's classes, especially those of Layli and Majnun from the romances of Nezāmi and Amir Xosrow treating this subject and reproduced in Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, 36, 38, 70, and one from Helāli's *Šāh va Darviš*, also in Ashrafi, 52. A class given by the Qāzi Hosayn of Yazd in a *maktab* in Shiraz (c. 1551-60, from a manuscript of *Toḥfeh-ye Sāmi* by Sām Mirzā, son of Shah Esmā'il) shows mature men with books, many of them open on the ground or in the owner's hand. See Karl Khandalavala and Rahmat Ali Khan, *Gulshan-e-Muṣawwari: Seven Illustrated Manuscripts...*, (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum, 1986), Fig. 2. However, the scene of a class in a mosque from a ms. of Sa'di's *Bustān* from the period 1540-49 shows mature pupils of an older 'ālem or shaykh listening and talking with closed books lying about. See Pope, *Masterpieces*, 171. Compare the illustrations of the 49th *Maqāmah* in Grabar, *Illustrations*, 128 and microfiche.

paper.²⁵⁴ Aside from boys at school, other miniatures depict open books before readers, in such motifs as a religious discussion in a mosque,²⁵⁵ another in a private home,²⁵⁶ a leisurely prince reading from a calligraphy album,²⁵⁷ two men on the roof of a building reading from a book or album,²⁵⁸ a member of Xosrow Parviz' retinue intently studying a book during the musical party at which Barbad gains admittance to the court,²⁵⁹ and Sultan Hosayn admiring a book that has been presented to him by the scribes, calligraphers and illuminators of his atelier.²⁶⁰ A late-18th century Ottoman manuscript from Fāzel Hosayn Andaruni, which shows definite European influence, portrays a scribe at work writing, with single sheets, books and a roll of paper scattered all about

²⁵⁴ See the mounted miniature attributed to Mir Sayyed 'Ali, ca. 1540, given in Lowry and Nemazae, *Jeweler's Eye*, 182-3.

²⁵⁵ See the tinted drawing in the Khurasan school, c. 1575, attributed to Moḥammadi, reproduced in B.W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, 75 and 78.

²⁵⁶ From a manuscript of Sa'di's *Bustān* and *Golestān* executed at Isfahan in 956/1549, depicting a dervish, judge and scientist in conversation over books, one of which is opened and apparently being recited from. See Ashrafi, 58.

²⁵⁷ Attributed to Aqā Mirak, c. 1530, Tabriz, in Lowry and Nemazae, 194-5.

²⁵⁸ from c. 1540 and the Shah Tahmāsp *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, f.521 verso, produced in S. C. Welch, *Wonders*, 98-101.

²⁵⁹ S. C. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, 52-3, from the Houghton *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, f.731 recto, attributed to Mirzā 'Ali.

²⁶⁰ from a ms. of the *Divān-e Hosayni* in the Topkapı Sarayı, dated 1492. See Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 235.

him.²⁶¹

Although musicians are ubiquitous in Persian miniatures, the visual vocabulary for the depiction of singing is limited. The singing of poetry, which we have seen to be well documented in the literary sources, is not immediately obvious in painting, where although scenes of wine-drinking, music and dancing are plentiful,²⁶² the act of singing or reciting poetry is not often overtly signalled.²⁶³ A musical soirée held by Sultan Ḥosayn Bāyqarā, illustrated in a manuscript of Sa'di's *Bustān* dated 893/1488, does furnish a clear example of a youth singing from a poetry album as a musician plays the lute and wine is served.²⁶⁴ In one illustration in a copy of the *Divān* of Ḥāfez, originating in Bukhara c. 1525, we see a wine-gathering by a stream, attended by seven youths and four

²⁶¹ From the *Zanān-nāmeḥ* in the British Library, shown in Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 193-4.

²⁶² There is even one scene of Bahrām Gur hunting which shows the presence of a female harpist and a tambourinist on horseback in the retinue, though it is from a manuscript in Chagatai Turkish of the works of Mir 'Alī Šir Navā'i, copied in Herat in 1527 and now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, supp. turc 316-17. Reproduced in S.C. Welch, *Royal Persian*, 58-9.

²⁶³ For example, the 'Īd al-Fiṭr feast shown in a Ḥāfez manuscript, f.86 recto, probably made for Sām Mirzā, brother of Shah Tahmāsp, c. 1527, and now in the Fogg Art Museum, or the scene of Fariborz and Farangis feasting from a Tabriz *Šāh-nāmeḥ* dated 931/1524. Reproduced in S. C. Welch, *Royal Persian*, 66-7 and Sharafi, 45, respectively.

²⁶⁴ Grube and Sims, "Painting," op. cit., 209. This miniature appears on f.2 recto of the Egyptian National Library, Cairo, Adab Farsi 22.

bearded men. One of these bearded men plays the *kamānceh*, another is apparently singing and a third is reading from a thick book.²⁶⁵ The emotional impact of the performance on at least two of the auditors is visible. Another miniature from a *Hāfez* manuscript humorously depicts the drunken revelry at a wine party, including what appear to be qalandars singing to the accompaniment of two tambourines and a *kamān-ceh*, as well as an older man reclining in the house perusing an open volume, perhaps of poetry.²⁶⁶ A copy of Rumi's *Magnavi* done in Herat in 863/1459 and illustrated at the court of Shah Ṭahmāsp around 1530 depicts a *tār* player and tambourinist performing before a prince with a man and his pupil (a poet and his reciter?) who may be discussing how to perform the next song.²⁶⁷ Another interesting example can be seen in an illustration of a *Šāh-nāme* probably done at Shiraz about 1560 A.D., in which a female dancer performs to the accompaniment of a female santourist, a male flautist (*nay*) and two tambourinists (*daff*). One figure reads or sings from a book or album, apparently addressing the ruler, while the men facing the dancer appear either to comment and encourage her, or perhaps to sing along.²⁶⁸

Up until the Timurid period, at least, the written word

²⁶⁵ Soudavar, 209.

²⁶⁶ S.C. Welch, *Royal Persian*, 68-9.

²⁶⁷ Lowry and Nemazaei, 157.

²⁶⁸ Soudavar, 245 and 247.

was conceived as primarily an oral entity that happened to be recorded on paper as an aid to memory.²⁶⁹ If, in fact, books became more important as a medium of experiencing poetry, oral transmission was never abandoned or forgotten; a miniature from the 11th/17th century, for example, depicts Avicenna teaching his students without recourse to books.²⁷⁰ Even in the present day, when literacy is common among all classes in Iran, the talks of religious opponents of the Pahlavi regime, such as Khomeini or Shariati, were widely circulated on audio tape. Pedersen's assertion that for the Arabic reader "reading always means reading aloud," is also true for most of Persian, Turkish and Urdu poetry well into the medieval period:

...it is a peculiarity of Islam that despite the great respect paid to the Book, written exposition is not regarded as an independent mode of expression, valuable in its own right, but as a representation of oral communication.²⁷¹

This is true not only for the poetic corpus, but even for the scripture of Islam. William Graham notes:

²⁶⁹ The celebration of the book-making trade, such as can be seen in the six pictorial vignettes in the margins surrounding a sample of calligraphy reproduced in Atil, *Brush of the Masters*, 106-7, would seem to express the importance of the book as a visual artifact, apparently reflecting something of a change from earlier attitudes towards poetry or even scholarly books as simple records of primarily oral presentations.

²⁷⁰ From Ms. No. 14709, Islamic Museum, Cairo. A photograph of the page in question is published in S. H. Nasr, *Islamic Science: An Illustrated Study*, (n.p., World of Islam Festival Publishing Company, 1976) 20, 240.

²⁷¹ Pedersen, 17.

For countless millions of Muslims over more than thirteen centuries of Islamic history, "scripture", *al-kitāb*, has been a book learned, read and passed on by vocal repetition and memorization. The written Qur'ān may "fix" visibly (and with supreme calligraphic artistry) the authoritative text of divine word in a way unknown in the history of the Vedic texts among Hindus; but like the Veda, the authoritativeness of the qur'anic text is only realized in its fullness and perfection when it is correctly recited aloud. In other words, the book of holy writ (*kitāb*) in Islam is ultimately not a written or printed document, but a holy "reciting", or "recitation", which is precisely what the Arabic word *qur'ān* means.²⁷²

This phenomenon of literate orality was not a result of the antiquity of the scripture; the foundations of knowledge continued to rest on the oral and aural experience of recitation and audition until the modern period, despite the high cultural and material value placed on books. Not only belles lettres, like poetry, had their primary basis in verbal form, but even central sciences, like Islamic law (*fiqh*) remained more fluid than the insistence on written transmission and the constant appeal to the corpus of established authoritative works suggests:

Written texts there certainly were in medieval Islam, and in great abundance. But the written text is not always what came first to the mind of the medieval Muslim when the Arabic word for text, *matn*, was spoken. Especially within the context of theoretical jurisprudence, what was likely to come first to his mind was a body of precisely fixed and, in principle, unalterable words that were orally transmitted from one generation to another. He could not separate the idea of a text from the idea of live transmission, for each text was hand-copied by a scribe, either from another written copy or on the basis

²⁷² W. A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79-80. See also his article s.v. "Scripture" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Mircea Eliade, ed.

of dictation (unless the scribe was also the author). Every written text reflected the personality of the scribe--his choice of writing style, the idiosyncrasies of his particular script, his level of competence, and, above all, his mistakes. However, transmission by written texts was regarded as peripheral to the primary transmission process, which occurred by way of the spoken word.²⁷³

**The Blessed Rage for Order:
Prolegomena for a Future Edition of the *Divān* of Sanā'i:**

Oh! Blessed rage for order, pale Ramon,
The maker's rage to order words of the sea
Words of the fragrant portals, dimly-starred,
And of ourselves and of our origins,
In ghostlier demarcations, keener sounds.
--Wallace Stevens, from "The Idea of Order at Key West"

One poem proves another and the whole,
For the clairvoyant men that need no proof:
The lover, the believer and the poet.
Their words are chosen out of their desire,
The joy of language, when it is themselves.
With these they celebrate the central poem,
.....
The essential poem begets the others...
--Wallace Stevens, from "A Primitive Like an Orb"

de Bruijn summarizes his excellent survey of the textual history of Sanā'i's *Divān* with the comment that the task of establishing a critical edition "will be by no means an easy one":

The medieval versions are not simply copies which through standard philological procedures can be reduced to a common archetype. They are actually different recensions showing, each in its own way, evidence of the deliberate interference of the scribe with the sources available to him. This interference not only affected the order and arrangement of the poems, but their readings and composition as well...there will always remain a fair amount of uncertainty as far as other aspects of the *Divān* are concerned. The loss of much early material, as well as the important role deliberate changes must have played in the textual tradition, has in many cases blocked the way toward final solutions regarding the

²⁷³ B. Weiss, *The Search for God's Law: Islamic Jurisprudence in the Writings of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 259-60.

readings or the composition of certain poems. As a consequence, a really critical text of the *Dīvān* will have to be a multi-variorum edition which marks precisely the boundaries set to philological research by the limitations of the extant sources.²⁷⁴

Some scholars, faced with similar inconsistencies in the textual tradition, have argued that entire bodies of literature, such as pre-Islamic Arabic poetry²⁷⁵ or even the Koran²⁷⁶ are wholesale later forgeries. There seems little justification for such radical doubt in the cases mentioned, and even less in the case of Sanā'i, though this does not exclude the possibility that individual poems have been added to the corpus of the *Divān* or that the particulars of individual readings have been altered, deliberately or through negligence. At the very least, the organization of the poems themselves has certainly undergone change over time,²⁷⁷ and

²⁷⁴ OPP, 111-12.

²⁷⁵ see Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Fī al-šī'r al-jahilī*, (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb, 1926) and *Fī al-adab al-jahilī*, (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-I'timād, 1927) as well as D. S. Margoliouth, "The Origins of Arabic Poetry," *JRAS*, 1925:417-49. The grounds for skepticism in the case of Jahilī poetry, which was transmitted orally for some centuries before being written down are, however, somewhat greater than for textual poets like Sanā'i. In any case, theories of the composition and transmission of poetry in oral cultures dispel much of the doubt expressed by Ḥusayn and Margoliouth on this score. See M. Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry*.

²⁷⁶ M. Cook and P. Crone, *Hagarism, the Making of the Islamic World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²⁷⁷ It is interesting to note that little textual anxiety is expressed over modern works like Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*, compiled from his student's class notes after his death. Compare the posthumous work *Sense and Sensibilia* of J. L. Austin, "reconstructed from the manuscript notes by G. J. Warnock" on the basis of Austin's own lecture

it can be said that Modarres-e Rażavi and Moşaffā both tend to view the textual tradition of Sanā'i's *Divān* with greater reliability than is warranted.

We have seen two contrasting paradigms in the textual history of various poets. In the case of Ferdowsi and Khayyām, the corpus of poetry attributed to them has clearly grown with the passage of time, and it is often possible to ferret out later accretions on text critical principles and historical evidence. Nevertheless, there will always remain

notes of 1947, which Austin revised and amended in 1948, 1949, 1955, 1958 and 1959, as he delivered various versions of these lectures. Warncock has supplemented these notes, with loose leaf sheets of various dates found among Austin's papers. These were, however, all in note form, as Austin had not been able to prepare his lectures for publication, and working them into a coherent narrative has resulted in expanding the "text" into five or six times the size of the most complete set of lecture notes. This material from Austin himself was supplemented by the notes taken by some of those who attended the lectures as he delivered them at various dates, and then divided into sections by Warnock.

As a result, Warnock tells us, "it must be carefully borne in mind that the text which follows, while based as closely as possible on Austin's notes, contains hardly any sentence which is a direct transcription from his own manuscript." Warnock's conclusions about the results of his labors to prepare a work from this material could equally well be applied to the medieval Persian manuscript tradition: "...although there is no reason to doubt that Austin's views are substantially as they are here presented, it is impossible to be certain that they are nowhere misrepresented in detail....The text that follows, then, cannot be read as reproducing, word for word, what Austin actually said in his lectures; nor, of course, does it come close--quite probably it comes nowhere near--to what he would have written, if he had himself prepared a text on this subject for publication. The most that can be claimed--though I venture to claim this with confidence--is that in all points of substance (and in many points of phraseology) his argument was the argument which this book contains." See Warnock's forward to *Sense and Sensibilia*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), v-ix.

some doubt about whether given lines in *Šāh-nāmeḥ* manuscripts or given quatrains attributed to Khayyām are authentic creations of the author, because, in the first case, there seems to have been multiple written versions authorized by the author, and in the second case, there seem to have been none. Though there are many textual problems to be faced in editing the *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, the criteria that we can apply in rejecting later accretions to the text are however more objective and more often subject to verification from other sources than in the case of Khayyām.²⁷⁸

The other paradigm, as apparent in the case of the *Divān* of *Hāfez* or the *Ḥadiqat* of Sanā'i, is one in which the author was not able to complete an authorized written copy during his lifetime and, as a consequence, the text existed in several partial recensions or was circulated in partial form, as separate albums, grouped according to topics or to the patron addressed. In this case, early manuscripts might reflect only a portion of the author's work, and later manuscripts, which had access to other collections might be more comprehensive and every bit as authoritative. Alternatively, even the earliest manuscripts may already contain many non-authentic poems. But, in the absence of information found in other works (such as ascription to another poet), it will often be nearly impossible to exclude poems which are first attested in

²⁷⁸ Khaleqi-Motlagh, "Der Plan einer neuen Schahname...", 85.

a later manuscript. This phenomenon is also observed in the transmission of Greek literature in the early renaissance, with scholars like Planudes and Triclinius:

The latter sought out manuscripts and was often rewarded by the discovery of different readings, which we now have only in his marginal notes; thus his own manuscripts of an author (or copies of them), although relatively late (fourteenth century), are often no less valuable witnesses to a text than the earliest surviving manuscript perhaps 500 years older. The phrase 'merely late, not worse' (*recentiores non deteriores*), has been used by a modern scholar to describe manuscripts of this kind. Triclinius' searches had a particularly fortunate outcome in the discovery of a hitherto virtually unknown text of nine plays by Euripides, not selected for reading in schools like the other surviving plays but preserved by chance.²⁷⁹

In the particular case of Sanā'i, because he obviously composed poems for many different social milieus and in many different geographical locations (Saraxs, Balx, Ghazna; see Chapter Two), it is nearly certain that he circulated some albums of his poetry, particularly some of the ghazals, among musicians and singers; others among the court of Bahrāmšāh and his courtiers; others in the circles of religious scholars he frequented; and still others among fellow Sufis.²⁸⁰ Therefore, the absence of one poem in an early manuscript does not mean that its appearance in a later manuscript is therefore spurious, especially because there is little reason to suppose that most readers would desire to have a full text

²⁷⁹ "Texts, transmission of," in *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, ed. M.C. Howatson, op. cit., 556.

²⁸⁰ de Bruijn, "Transmission of Early Persian Ghazals," 27-31.

of Sanā'i's bulky *Divān*.²⁸¹ We have already seen how abridgements often enjoyed as much popularity as (or more than) the long works from which they derived and it is reasonable to assume that few of Sanā'i's readers maintained a broad-minded interest in all the subjects covered in the corpus of his poetry; Sufis were primarily interested in the mystical verse while historians or court poets would find more interest in the panegyrics and Shiites would preserve poems that touched on the subjects dear to their own creed. Two potential factors might motivate medieval editors and copyists to significantly alter the contents of a book: the desire to pare unwanted or uninteresting poems from a massive collection in order to produce a convenient sized volume, and the desire to collect the various textual strains or topical albums into a comprehensive collection.

Indeed, there is indication in the Velieddin manuscript itself, which has three separate colophons, that the scribe was working from the latter motivation--to collect the

²⁸¹ One can consider the *Kolliāt* versions of Sanā'i's poems as similar to, for example, T.S. Eliot's *The Complete Poems and Plays*. The plays "Murder in the Cathedral," "The Family Reunion," and "The Cocktail Party" would all have been published separately, as self-contained works, like the *Ḥadiqat*, the *Kār-nāmeḥ* or *Sayr al-'ebād*. Various albums of Sanā'i's *divān* poetry would also have circulated publicly, just as small collections of Eliot's poems, including *Prufrock* (1917), *Poems* (1920), *The Waste Land* (1922), etc., were published and in circulation long before the *Complete Poems* was issued. The poet might add or revise older versions of poems for the collected works volume, if he is still alive. Meanwhile, other anthologies may have been made which present the poems in slightly different versions or in varied order.

divergent textual strains into one collection, which may have required that he obtain materials over a period of time from different sources, perhaps some of them coming from different cities. The *Hadiqat* portion was completed on 14 Jumādā I 684/18 July 1285; the *Tahrimat al-qalam*, which follows the *Hadiqat* in the current order of the manuscript, was completed earlier, on 8 Ša'bān 683/20 October 1284; while the colophon at the end of the *Divān* section and of the whole manuscript as it is now bound, gives the date 10 Rabī' I 684/16 May 1285. The same scribe wrote all portions of the text and de Bruijn discounts the possibility that there has been any confusion in the dating:

The scribe apparently began with the group of shorter masnavis and then proceeded to work on the *Divān*. It took him at least seven months to complete the latter. Only two months later, he had already finished the copying of the text of [the *Hadiqat*] in spite of its considerable length. It was then placed at the beginning of the entire collection together with a prose introduction and a table of contents.²⁸²

It is of course possible that the scribe was merely detained from completing his task by some other activities, but the fact that it took so long to complete the text, and the fact that he decided to place the various works in the overall collection in a different order from that which he copied them in, suggests that he was working from more than one exemplar, which evidently represented different strains of the text. The fact that most of the early manuscripts seem to be

²⁸² *OPP*, 102.

arranged by topic and genre rather than by genre alone or by alphabetical order also suggests that the poems were circulating in topical albums. Typical of such arrangements are the Velieddin manuscript, which groups the *qaṣīdehs* about God, the Prophet and homiletic topics first, followed by panegyrics, satires and invective, and elegies, followed by the other genres--*qeṭ'ehs*, ghazals and *robā'is*; the Kabul Manuscript arranges the poems in terms of ascetic and religious content, panegyrics, *qalandariāt*, ghazals, satires and elegies.²⁸³ The 446-page manuscript of the *Ketāb-xāneh-ye Melli-ye Farhang* in Tehran (no. 2353), written in *nasx*, which is probably itself not from the life of the poet as M. Moḥaqeq believes,²⁸⁴ but an 8th/14th century copy²⁸⁵ of a manuscript from that period made for the treasury of the Atābeg of Marāḡeh, Abu Sa'id Arslān ebn Aq Sonqor, contains the following ten chapters:

- 1) 36 *qaṣīdeh* on *hekmat*, *towḥid* and *amsāl* (religious themes)
- 2) 79 *qaṣīdehs* of praise (*madāyeh*), 21 for the Sultan
- 3) *Sayr al-'ebād*
- 4) *Marāḡi* (elegies), containing 17 *qaṣīdehs*
- 5) *Hekam* and *amsāl* (probably homiletic topics), 33 poems
- 6) "*Ahāji*, four or five *qaṣīdehs*" of satire

²⁸³ For an extremely useful chart, see *OPP*, 104.

²⁸⁴ "Nosxeh-hā-ye xaṭṭi," *Rāhnamā-ye ketāb*, vol. 5, no. 7 (Mehr 1341/1962):568-9. Moḥaqeq thought it might have been made while the poet was alive, because it calls down prayers upon the poet in three places in the present tense.

²⁸⁵ see *OPP*, 100-101, citing Utas' evaluation of the manuscript and the *ex libris* page, which may have been deliberately altered. Note also that the text of the actual poems differs considerably (perhaps because of alterations?) from what is written in the table of contents.

- 7) *Kār-nāmeḥ-ye Balx* (called *Moṭāyebeh-nāmeḥ*)
- 8) "on ghazals, comprising 206 *qaṣīdeḥ*" [sic]
- 9) *Robā'īāt* on all themes, including 433 *robā'ī*
- 10) *Ḥadiqeh fi al-ḥaqīqat*.

As I have argued in Chapter Two, some of the Shiite poems which de Bruijn rejects may not be spurious, but may have been included in albums of Sanā'i's poetry circulated only in Shiite circles. The poet would presumably not benefit from sharing such poems with friends and patrons who did not share 'Alid sentiments and there is, therefore, no reason to assume that every collection of his poems would include them. Similarly, de Bruijn feels that the *tarji'-band* for Tāj Abu Bakr may not be authentic because it refers to several other panegyrics for this patron, which de Bruijn cannot find evidence of in the *Divān*.²⁸⁶ Aside from the fact that *qaṣīdeḥ* 299 is for an Abu Bakr Moḥammad and *robā'ī* 39 appears to be for the son, Moḥammad, who is worthy of the crown *tāj* and the name Tāj, like his learned father, and that some of the panegyric ghazals may be directed at Tāj Abu Bakr without specifically mentioning his name, we may also assume that other poems were presented to him in album format that never found their way into the collection of Sanā'i's poems.

There are many poems in the *Divān* of Sanā'i which are obvious reworkings of one another (e.g., ghazal #136 and 402). Although de Bruijn expresses some doubt as to the authenticity

²⁸⁶ *DS*, 766-76 and *OPP*, 85-6.

of these similar poems,²⁸⁷ it seems only reasonable that a poem in a given rhyme and meter might be offered in one situation and revised or reworked for presentation in a later situation. The presence of multiple or similar versions, as in the case of Hāfez, should not raise doubts about their authenticity. Indeed, in most of the early collections, since the poems were not arranged alphabetically, the repetition of rhymes, meters and themes might not be immediately obvious to the reader.

De Bruijn proposes that the textual history of various ghazals can be reconstructed by meticulously comparing the order of the lines and variant readings in several manuscripts, similar to what Xānlari has done for Hāfez' ghazals, and de Bruijn provides an excellent demonstration of this method on one poem.²⁸⁸ While this method could certainly help shed light on the textual history of the material in some cases, it would be highly impractical to provide a variorum version of the *Divān* following this principle: it would be enormously bulky and would not repay the effort, a situation Nafisi already noted in his edition of 'Erāqi (see above). Xānlari, likewise notes that a true variorum edition of Hāfez that listed all the variants in the thousand or so existing manuscripts of the work, aside from being an extremely difficult task for the editor, would

²⁸⁷ *OPP*, 260n80.

²⁸⁸ "Transmission of Early Persian Ghazals," 29-30.

probably result in an extremely bulky ten-volume work,²⁸⁹ the use of which would be difficult and the value of which would be limited. A computer hypertext version of such a manuscript concordance would be more accessible, though the immense project of compiling it might require the extended attention of several scholars.

One must also be aware that the desire to find and collate manuscripts has its own limitations, both in terms of time and finances. If it were financially possible for a scholar to collect computer images of all existing manuscripts of a work into a single database, would it even be possible for one person to compare all the significant variations during his or her lifetime?. Furthermore, the fact that scholars are seen to be hungry for given manuscripts can also distort the textual condition by providing forgers with a motivation to produce "old" copies of manuscripts which are sometimes not so easy to unmask.²⁹⁰ The "manuscript factory" in Tehran, which produced what would have been the oldest existing manuscripts (dated by the forgers 658/1260 and 604/1208) of Khayyám's poetry, were able to fool several important scholars for a while, until greed motivated the

²⁸⁹ *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2:1117.

²⁹⁰ Compare the recent suspected forgery of six "Haydn" sonatas by a German flautist, Winfried Michel, who claims to have found the scores and has convinced the pianist Paul Badura-Skoda to record the works, which will be issued as a CD on the Koch label, according to *BBC Music Magazine*, April 1994 (vol. 2, no. 8), p. 9.

"factory" to produce too many "ancient" manuscripts to be believable.²⁹¹ Even when there has been no deliberate attempt to deceive, the trickiness of dating manuscripts, some of which copy out the colophons of earlier manuscripts, must be acknowledged.²⁹²

G. Thomas Tanselle posits that there is a difference between a work of literature--which is a linguistic work of art--and the text or texts that preserve and transmit it, making our perception of it possible :

Our cultural heritage consists, in Yeats's phrase, of 'Monuments of unageing intellect'; but those monuments come to us housed in containers that--far from being unageing--are, like the rest of what we take to be the physical world, constantly changing. Verbal works, being immaterial, cannot be damaged as a painting or a sculpture can; but we shall never know with certainty what their undamaged forms consist of, for in their passage to us they are subjected to the hazards of the physical.²⁹³

Indeed, the *Divān* of Sanā'i, as we experience it in Modarres-e Rażavi's edition, did not exist in Sanā'i's day. de Bruijn rightly argues that the corpus of poetry created by the mind of Sanā'i went through several stages, including a stage of textual indeterminacy where the author was modifying his own creations; a second stage in which the poems were circulated in album form, arranged according to the patron or the topic;

²⁹¹ Dashti/Elwell-Sutton, 18-19.

²⁹² Tirtha and Rosen both made serious errors of this nature. See Dashti/Elwell-Sutton, 17-18.

²⁹³ Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 93.

a third stage, beginning in the 7th/13th century, when editors attempted to collect the various albums of Sanā'i poetry into a comprehensive collection; and a fourth stage, from the 11th/17th century, when these collections were rearranged in alphabetical order by genre of poem.²⁹⁴ This being the case, it is not only the physical damage, but the imaginative reconstruction of the work that interferes with our access to it in its original form. But this is exactly what an editor, modern or medieval, does whenever he compiles a *divān*: he alters the cultural heritage by situating the work in a new container, changing its bibliographic codes, perhaps introducing alterations. It is the work in this received form, however, not the authorial intention behind the work or the essential form of the work that becomes our cultural monument. Finally, as McGann would have it, literary works are "written" not by the author alone but are composite productions. If we learn to enjoy them as such some of our textual anxiety may dissipate.

Since there has been little work done on the reception history of Persian poets, and because there exists no systematic and fully adumbrated theory of textual editing that takes into account the special characteristics of the Persian manuscript tradition, it is probably premature to approach another edition of the poems of Sanā'i. Further investigation into the reception history of Persian literature and a

²⁹⁴ "Transmission of Early Persian Ghazals," 28.

systematic exposition of the history of Persian codicology, as well as monographs investigating the text history and attribution of specific poems from the *Divān* of Sanā'i, would provide the most promising avenues for evaluating questions of authenticity and authentic readings. Khayyām, whose text critical problems are even more severe, was a contemporary of Sanā'i, and the reconstruction of his reception history has been able to reject much of the bloated corpus of quatrains that eventually came to be ascribed to him. Ghazals, like *robā'is*, are a popular genre of poem, often sung, and as such are more subject to variation than other types of poems might be. Meier, as we have seen, noted the early association of the *robā'i* with the *samā'* of Sufi orders, and we ought also to keep this observation in mind in the context of ghazal poetry, to the extent that the ghazals likewise stem from a popular--often a Sufi--milieu, are short enough to be remembered in their entirety in one hearing, and are also performed in public.²⁹⁵

To impose an order on a text-critical morass such as Sanā'i's *Divān*, one must begin with a clear set of principles and give due consideration to the nature and purpose of the manuscripts. For one thing, it is important to realize that the usual assumptions about witnesses to an established authorial text do not apply, insofar as we are not really looking into the history of a single text but various

²⁹⁵ Meier, *Die Schöne Mahsatī*, 1 and 20-21.

collections of textual strains. As de Bruijn, referring to Sanā'i's ghazals, concludes:

...the early manuscripts of the *Divān* differ from each other to a degree which makes it unlikely that they all go back to a single codification of Sanā'i's lyrical poetry, either compiled by himself or by someone else who lived close to the time of Sanā'i's life. If it is not possible to reconstruct an original version of the *Divān* from the extant copies by means of standard philological procedure, one is led to question the philological status of the *Divān* as such: is it still possible, in this case, to speak of a 'book' in the ordinary sense of the term?²⁹⁶

It may also be necessary, before embarking on another edition of the *Divān* of Sanā'i, to reformulate editorial theory from the realization that poets almost certainly introduced variations into their ghazals as they recited them on different occasions, that poetic *divāns* were often compiled by someone other than the author and that there may be no single authoritative text strain, and that even in cases where we can be certain that a single authoritative "urtext" did at one point exist, it is unlikely we will ever be able to recover it. Hence, we must recognize that modern critical editions themselves participate in the "manuscript" tradition, rather than existing outside of it, and that tracing the reception history of a given work is perhaps a more scientific endeavor than the search for the original words of the author.

²⁹⁶ "Transmission of Early Persian Ghazals," 28.

CHAPTER FOUR

FIFTY GHAZALS OF SANĀ'I: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Excursus

Such inquiries should not be aimed at the reconstruction of the 'original' text of the *Dīvān* [of Sanā'i] as a whole, for it is doubtful that an authoritative comprehensive collection of the poet's lyrical poetry really stood at the beginning of its textual history.

--J. T. P. de Bruijn¹

But let the poet on his balcony
Speak and the sleepers in their sleep shall move,
Waken, and watch the moonlight on their floors.
--Wallace Stevens, from "Academic Discourse at Havanna"

Owing to the wide dispersion of the existing manuscripts in London, Oxford, Istanbul, Tehran, Mašhad, Cairo, Bāku, Najaf, Bankipore, Calutta and Kabul, the political situation in several of these countries, and the vagaries of gaining access to the various archives and collections, I have not even attempted a serious review of the existing manuscripts. I have only been able to review micro-fiche copies (all kindly supplied by J.T.P. de Bruijn) of three manuscripts containing (parts of) the *Divān* of Sanā'i, namely:

- 1) the Velieddin (ms. 2627) in Istanbul, dated 684/1285;
- 2) the *Kolliāt* in the Kabul Museum (subsequently the library of the Ministry of Culture and then the Ketāb-xāneh-ye

¹ de Bruijn, "The Transmission of Early Persian Ghazals," op. cit., 31.

'āmmeh),² which has no date in the text but has been dated to the second half of the 6th/12th century according to X. Xalili³ and 'A. A. Bašir,⁴ but as de Bruijn argues on orthographic and paleographic grounds, more likely originated in the 8th/14th century;⁵ and

3) the Dār al-Kutub manuscript in Cairo (59M, adab fārisī), which is undated.⁶

Although I have very occasionally amended the order of the lines or the reading of a word as given in Modarres-e Ražavi's edition on the basis of these manuscripts, I have not so signalled this in the Persian text, as I do not wish to give the impression that this is in any way a critical edition of the ghazals, nor do I desire to call undue attention to the poems as uncertain constructs, but wish now to turn to them as artifacts, as "well-wrought urns," that we might examine their semiotic and artistic principles.

² Published in facsimile as *Kolliāt-e aš'ār-e Ḥakim Sanā'i-ye Ġaznavi*, ed. 'A. A. "Bašir", (Kabul: Mo'asseseh-ye entešārāt-e Bayhaqi, 1356/1978).

³ Xalili, *Dar-bāreh-ye yek nosxeh-ye qadim-e kolliāt-e Ḥakim Abu al-Majd Majdud-e Sanā'i*, (Kabul: Dār al-Ta'lif-e Vezārat-e Ma'āref, 1338/1959). [non vidi]

⁴ see his introduction to the *Kolliāt*, op. cit., ii. The fact that the publication of this manuscript was decided upon as a result of the official celebration of the 900th anniversary of Sanā'i's birth in Afghanistan, there may have been some nationalistic pride involved in the promulgation of this manuscript as the oldest existing one.

⁵ *OPP*, 99-100.

⁶ for the details of these mss., see *OPP*, chapter eight.

The poems and translations that follow are grouped and identified as ten distinct genres or performance categories of Sanā'i's ghazals. For each of these ten dominant genres or thematic motifs, I have selected and translated five poems as representative samples. It goes without saying that my categorization of each of these fifty poems by a dominant topic or performance setting, like the texts of the Persian poems themselves, is provisional. One genre bleeds quite unstaunchably into another, and features or topoi expected in one theme or genre not infrequently fail to appear there, only to turn up in genres where they would, at first, seem less at home.

I have enumerated the following categories and genres, and numbered the poems accordingly (e.g., Poem 2.5 would be the fifth and final sample of the second genre, "poems of love enjoyed"). The number of the poem in the second edition of Modarres-e Razavi's edition of Sanā'i's *Divān* is signalled in the right hand corner of the page. Chapter Five will provide a discussion of each poem and the iconography of the genre to which it belongs:

- 1) Ghazals of praise
- 2) Poems of love enjoyed
- 3) Poems of suffering love
- 4) Complaints of love
- 5) Homoerotic ghazals
- 6) Panegyrical ghazals
- 7) Ghazals on religious themes, usually homiletic
- 8) Wine poems
- 9) *Qalandari* poems
- 10) Sufi poems: sermons, anthems, initiations, and catechisms.

In translating I have attempted to remain as faithful to

the original as possible. However, poetry rendered into another language should reflect the poetic qualities of the original, and not the needs of scholarly parsing and scansion. These two contrasting motivations have led to compromises in the English versions that fully satisfy neither the literary nor the scholarly objective. I have occasionally taken liberties to smoothly take an English turn of phrase, and at others have remained more literal at the expense of verve in the English rendition. However short they have fallen of their exemplar, the model for translation I have kept before my eyes was that of Ezra Pound's *Personae*.

1.1Poems of praiseGhazal 152

Whoso has a heart
 in the market
 for the beloved
 will sell his life and heart and spirit
 for the beloved (1)

Especially one heartlorn,
 like me,
 who has patience not an instant
 in anticipation
 of meeting
 the beloved (2)

Look at the rose,
 how it tries to bribe;
 Rubies bleed to look upon
 the cheeks
 of the beloved (3)

See the partridge,
 put to shame
 by the winking
 and the walk
 of the beloved (4)

He has won the highest paradise on earth
 who breathes
 one breath
 in contemplation
 of the beloved (5)

In all the world I've seen no pleasure
 more satisfying
 more sweet
 than the speech
 of the beloved (6)

Crimson rubies are but stones to me--
 after the ruby
 sugar-shedding
 lips
 of the beloved (7)

A fragrant breeze from nowhere
 seemed last night
 to tangle the curls
 on the pomegranate blossom
 of the beloved (8)

And so, today, stained
 with musky scent are
 the house and roof and door and wall
 of the beloved. (9)

Rubies and pearls
 in mine and sea
 envious of
 the agate and priceless pearls
 of the beloved (10)

My ragged heart is rent in sorrow:
 It knows no more than this
 of the arts
 of the beloved (11)

My heart presses hand to head
 scorpion-like
 Because of those two black
 snake-like
 braids
 of the beloved (12)

My heart's reason and logic
 carried clean away
 by those two narcissi
 above the cheeks
 like fire
 of the beloved.... (13)

This novel thing came to **Sanā'i**
 after Mo'ezzi made his report
 of the beloved: (14)

"If I tell
 the torments I've seen
 from the beloved
 I'll break the market
 for the beloved" (15)

- "You with those tresses
 brushed back
 behind your ears
 with twisted locks
 falling in ringlets
 about your shoulders (1)
- You, who have made my heart
 mad in love
 and dazed my body
 in thine absence: (2)
- When making war or hosting banquets,
 O tulip-cheeked
 O jasmine-lobed, (3)
- they call you
 the goblet-grabbing moon
 they name you
 the armor-donning idol. (4)
- I do not pretend
 you will take me
 in private
 one night
 to hold me in your arms
 till dawn; (5)
- Yet would it be unrighteous,
 I having done no wrong,
 to forget me
 outright." (6)
- I guess that **Sanā'i**
 died pining for thee;
 now drink
 his words into your mind. (7)
- Last night,
 without your face,
 dusk to daylight
 the world was
 in turmoil
 filled with his lamentations: (8)
- O Lord,
 let no one ever
 pass the night
 the way he spent
 last night. (9)

1.3Poems of praiseGhazal 173

With the shining of your cheeks
 and the sheen of your hair,
 heart-firing moon,
 your evening brings the Holy Night of Power
 and your morning, the New Year (1)

With the bouncing of your hair
 two roses bloom
 through the musk
 with the shining of your face
 twin nights stem
 from the day. (2)

In the kingdom of loverhood,
 in the market for pistachios and almonds,
 Your kiss has become a world-conqueror
 your glances world-destroyers (3)

Since our eyes will not rest
 lest they rest upon you
 do them kindness with a kiss
 and sew them shut with a piercing wink. (4)

Circle back
 awhile
 in the orbit
 of my heart
 and in that heart
 if you find anything
 but care for you
 kindle a fire and
 fan the flames. (5)

Though we have read the book of lovers
 through and through
 after all this
 still we are tyros
 at loving you (6)

In your absence every night,
 in search of union
 I proclaim:
 O Lord,
 do not turn
 the night of
 the lover and beloved
 to
 day. (7)

By looping
 those two braided strands
 of hair
 over your ears
 they daubed
 black civet
 on your lovers' backs (1)

I pierced my lobe
 with the ring of your command
 as soon as they draped
 the ringlets of your hair
 over this ear (2)

Your peevishness
 turned the lovers' shirts
 to cloaks
 when they christened you
 the becloaked Cypress (3)

As soon as you rubbed
 black civet chains
 around your moon
 they put chains upon
 this dazed lover. (4)

When it came
 to seasoning and sass
 they added a dash
 of riot and ruin
 they filled
 your lips
 and palate
 with sugar
 and ambrosia (5)

1.5 **Poems of praise** **Ghazal 235**

- You,
 whose sight
 is the life of my spirit
 and not seeing you
 a trial to my psyche, (1)
 Stoke this charred heart
 with the fire of
 love,
 with the light of
 reunion with
 my beloved (2)
- If not for love
 reunion with you
 would be but the name
 of one of many pleasures
 upon my lips (3)
- Now,
 having robbed me
 of my heart,
 how can I be
 without you? (4)
- In love,
 I have a pain in my heart,
 its cure
 I know
 is naught but you. (5)
- Longing
 for your face
 I follow
 your scent
 running down your lane. (6)
- Since
 my ears
 heard your name,
 only your name
 is on my lips (7)
- Since
 your lady tulips
 veiled your pearls,
 pearls have always
 wet my cheeks. (8)
- Blenched
 by cares
 like a quince blossom
 and these, my tears,
 the color of the pomegranate's seed (9)

- The mole
 on your cheek,
 icon,
 stirs tumult in my guts
 and casts light to my eyes. (10)
- You
 whose love
 lords over my heart,
I am the bond-slave
 to eternal love. (11)
- Your description,
 moon face,
 outstrips
 my fancy and imagination; (12)
- Come forward,
 Idol,
 and bring some wine,
 sit at my side
 awhile... (13)
- If I savor a vintage
 served by your hands
 I'll live,
 like Khezr,
 till the Resurrection. (14)

2.1 Love enjoyed Ghazal 215

Last night
 my life's fantasies
 were all fulfilled:

 I bedded down
 on a pillow of jasmine,
 on a slender trunk, (1)
 held in my embrace
 a beauty who
 as I looked on her
 made me feel
 the bed stood
 high above
 the sun. (2)

Narcissus,
 slender trunk,
 lilies,
 musk and silver,
 moon and rose,
 clear through till dawn,
 I hugged all seven in my arms (3)
 My breast
 pressed
 to a breast
 like silver and lilies,
 my lips
 pressed
 upon lips
 like milk and sugar; (4)

Her arms and my arms
 encircled circled
 my neck her neck
 like a band, like a band (5)

When I looked
 in the morning's light,
 that's almost how it was:
 she had a necklace of gold
 and I a lily of ambergris (6)
 As the Muezzin
 pronounced his first "Allāhu akbar"
 I'm a heathen
 if I wished him
 to complete the pair. (7)

2.2Love enjoyedGhazal 25

- So long as the imagined picture of the friend is with us,
 our whole life will be a theater; (1)
- By God, though stuck at home,
 the beauty of the friends
 transports us to the midst of meadows (2)
- And where the heart's object is attained
 one thorn is better than a thousand dates. (3)
- Though the fragrance of the breeze is musk,
 though the fabric of the earth is silk, (4)
- Though the blossoms on the trees
 like the two lips of the friend,
 are full of the Pleiades, (5)
- Though tulips dot the hillside,
 like the eyes in the face of houris, (6)
- Once the destiny of loverhood dawns
 all these are folded up and put away. (7)
- Never does the fact of union deceive
 the eye with insights into separation. (8)
- Now that the crows have thinned out in the garden,
 the nightingale has made the rose his nest. (9)
- On every branch a philomel
 thankful for the shrinking host of crows (10)
- Cries out in joy:
 Today, for a while, it is our turn! (11)

Ghazal 236

My world and my soul
 came to my side,
 companion to my heart,
 comfort of my psyche. (1)

I called her over
 pressed her in embrace;
 my spirit multiplied
 a thousand fold
 within
 me. (2)

Gazing the length of that tall body
 and the twines of tress down her back,
 I thought:
 I must be in the heavens (3)

No sooner had she laid her head upon my breast,
 than my world and my soul
 left my side. (4)

Save me from the call of the Muezzin!
 I'm a slave to the cry of the night watchman! (5)

- One day my idol came
 drunken to the bazaar
 knocking the dust
 off the lovers' hearts
 in a whirl. (1)
- A hundred heartlorn men
 saw the daylight die in ardor for him,
 a hundred men enchanted
 saw their affairs close in dolor for him. (2)
- His cheeks and peach fuzz
 were like silk and ambergris;
 a buyer
 weighed both together
 and came forward to bid for him. (3)
- Rueing that ambergrised,
 freshly spun silk,
 a cry burst forth
 from the cloth merchant,
 from the apothecary. (4)
- The idols are jealous
 of the line of his jaw
 and his peach fuzz;
 they say thorns have poked their way
 through the petal of his rose. (5)
- It is the self-same clay
 on which God gazed
 to raise up lilies and bushy shrubs
 from the flower bed (6)
- And that night,
 when I had my visit with him
 all alone,
 before my night was through
 the morning rose
 above the mountains (7)

2.5

Love enjoyed

Ghazal 272

We all rob
 the lips of that outlaw heart-taker
 along the highway;
 each night we plunder her sugar
 with kisses. (1)

One could just pilfer the sugar from her lips,
 but each night
 we hijack
 the lips of that outlaw heart-taker. (2)

We like Vāmeq
 she like 'Azrā,
 we like Rāmin
 she like Vis--
 The bowl's the thing in such a state
 if we break out the burgundy-- (3)

Rāmin-like,
 every night
 we throw our person in the arms of Vis;
 Vāmeq-like,
 we plant endless kisses on 'Azrā's lips. (4)

At the time of our communion, she leans
 forward, her breast resting flush against mine.
 At the time of pleasure,
 I press my lips to hers,
 kissing. (5)

Today and yesterday
 life was delightful
 with that icon of ours;
 we'll make tomorrow and beyond
 more happy than yester and today. (6)

Should fortune rudely wrest her intercourse from us,
 We'll appeal for justice to Giāṣ al-dīn va al-donyā (7)

3.1**Suffering love****Ghazal 227**

Separation has come now
 how will I partake of union?
 The friend has parted from me
 how will I live parted from the friend? (1)
 If none espy a treasure chest about me
 of ruby, pearl and jewel,
 how is it that I scatter rubies,
 sift gems and rain pearls? (2)
 It seems the one who cast a spell to help
 me sleep tossed the charm into the water;
 since my sleep is drowned in tears,
 how could I be anything but wakeful? (3)
 My idol is a sweetheart and quick to wrath; so I
 am always heart-chafed by my love
 for a quick-offended friend. Do you suppose
 I could be otherwise? (4)
 Her mouth is a half-dinar and my face a dinar;
 how can my face be yellowed, like dinars,
 and I am penniless? (5)
 I, being sleepless,
 loudly sing out
 with every breath
 this ghazal:
 How should other people sleep
 the whole night through
 while I am wakeful? (6)

3.2**Suffering love****Ghazal 246**

How long must I suffer your torments?
If you would make peace with me, I think
it would be well. (1)
In the hours of darkness I rise from fitful
sleep on the nights I see you in my dreams. (2)
Wherever I see clear strained wine,
I drain it in your memory from a goblet. (3)
Had you come to me tonight, what harm
that I lay eyes upon the sun at night? (4)
 How long must I watch my heart and soul
 roasting in the absence of your face? (5)

3.3**Suffering love****Ghazal 244**

O Muslims!
 I know not what to do to cure my heart
 nor how on earth to clear my head
 of the melancholic rheum of love for her. (1)

I love being in love, I love the lovers more;
 I'd fill a million hearts with blood for love. (2)

I burned in loverhood until
 I took up company with the lovers;
 I'm incapable at my profession--
 O Lord, what shall I do? (3)

I have in this heart a fire
 to breathe one spark of which
 would burn the waters of the seas
 and turn the world to wasteland. (4)

The waters of the seas will burn,
 the mountains will be leveled plain,
 My eyes will rain bloody tears
 and crest the waters (5)

My home is in the desert
 my companions the gazelles;
 wherever I blow my reed pipe
 I undam an Oxus
 of heart's blood. (6)

If some night
 my arms could clasp about her neck,
 I'd fasten a slave's collar
 like the moon
 around the neck of the sky! (7)

Last night
 your love lay in ambush for me
 Last night
 the drops in my eyes were tears of blood (1)
 Last night
 my love for you
 made Hell flare in my heart,
 drenched my breast
 in a flowing Oxus from my eyes (2)
 Last night,
 O wielder of wealth--
 like a Korah in beauty--
 the lover was a Korah in his love for you (3)
 Last night,
 without your face--
 who in visage are the orb of earth--
 my companion was the moon of heaven. (4)
 Last night
 does not count as part of my span of life,
 for last night
 without you
 I did not seem to be alive. (5)
 Yesterday night--
 may there never be another like it!
 Last night
 sorrow exceeded
 all other nights
 combined. (6)

3.5**Suffering love****Ghazal 259**

After hunkering down
at the entrance to your lane
we earned a rank
in the burned-out hearts battalion. (1)
In the fire of our solicitude for you
we burned,
in a corner of the ruins
we took up uncute wine; (2)
We withdrew
from school and seminary,
we lolled about
the wine tavern and barstool. (3)
Your beautymark and cap
o idol
are bait and trap;
chasing the bait,
we headed straight into the trap. (4)
For a time
serenely joined with you
on all occasions
we filled our goblet
with settled wine. (5)

Today,
he's cut off from our company;
this, too, we take
to be the fate accompanying us. (6)

4.1

Complaint of love

Ghazal 383

- You carry off my heart
 expecting me
 to carry on with life;
 you yourself set shop up
 somewhere else. (1)
- None like me
 will ever love you, though
 you have lovers aplenty. (2)
- The pangs of jealousy
 make me ill when you
 keep company with others. (3)
- Is it because
 I call you dear,
 O life of my world,
 you treat me cheaply? (4)
- Is it befitting
 to keep emaciated and miserable
 he who falls in love with your face? (5)
- Each night through
 until the morn
 you keep my eyes
 awake with your absence. (6)
- I'm angry with
 and deprived of you
 because of your world-deceiving disposition. (7)
- I hold you in great esteem
 O moon
 like the rose;
 why do you count me
 worthless as a thorn? (8)
- See how long you hold me
 in the sear of separation
 parch-lipped and heart-fired! (9)
- You, unaided,
 can burn the whole world down;
 why choose calamity as your consort? (10)
- Take a little pity on this lover
 if you've any desire of mercy
 from the Stern Ruler. (11)
- From now on
 you ought to consider
 Sanā'i
 worthy of your congress. (12)

O Joseph of the Age!
 In his love for you
 Sanā'i is wracked
 like Jacob
 by the pains of separation (1)
 How long will you come forth
 rising like the sun
 towards the lovers' hearts
 from behind the veil
 every day
 a new color donning? (2)
 At times you bow
 face prostrate
 to a pack of knaves,
 but other times,
 your very hair
 lays claim to godhead. (3)
 In your lane
 in view of your moods
 no eye dares
 look up above
 a beggar's pose; (4)
 In tryst with you
 in view of your moods
 wisdom dares not hope
 for the soul's release
 from the coils of your hair. (5)
 So, how mystifying you are
 and this is sleight-of-hand enough:
 Through the body's length and breadth
 none knows where you are! (6)
 So you are a wonder worker
 and this is wonder enough:
 though all are possessed of you
 all long to know to whom you belong. (7)
 Why do you hide yourself from us?
 In the plane of unity,
 my good son,
 we are all of you
 and you are we. (8)
 There
 where you are
 I cannot
 not be
 And here
 where I stay
 I know you will not come. (9)

4.3Complaint of loveGhazal 100

- Converse with the beloved
 isn't worth the wait
 the smell of the rose and tulip
 are not worth the prick
 of the thorn. (1)
- I seek no congress
 for it's coupled
 with periods of separation;
 wine drinking
 isn't worth the hangover. (2)
- Though the far shore
 of love's sea
 is all reward
 such rich reward
 isn't worth
 the hell of passage. (3)
- The two or three days
 of worry
 over trysting with
 and parting from you
 isn't worth
 all this anxiety and trouble and fuss (4)
- At the close of day
 I recount
 griefs incurred
 for the beloved
 the lover's trade
 is of no account (5)

4.4

Complaint of love

Ghazal 105

- What airs
 those sassy eyes put on!
 you'd think my heart
 would withdraw from his company! (1)
- At times in ire he drives home a point
 at others glibly he incites revolt (2)
- Never once
 has he winked flirtatiously
 without piercing
 a million hearts
 with his coquetry. (3)
- At times I abhor him,
 then he comes quickly to me;
 at times I call him,
 he starts a calculated quarrel. (4)
- He is not aware
 that I will not flee his torments
 that none who thirst
 will run from the water of life (5)
- Were I to drink in
 a thousand poisoned potions from his hand
 in the throat of love
 would rise the roar:
 "Are there yet more?" (6)
- Not in sorrow
 does my eye
 sift through its lashes
 like a colander
 a thousand seas (7)
- In enmity
 he makes collyrium
 for my eyes
 mixing it
 with smoke and ash
 for *Sanā'i* (8)
- Whatever else but him
 my pupil looks upon
 it counts a sin
 and for this
 it drops its tears (9)
- This is an answer to that ghazal
 of the honorable Bu Sa'id:
 "I have a heart at loggerheads with health." (10)

- O craftsman
of cruel displays,
involved in what
and where are you? (1)
Send your apparition my way
some night,
if you've no plans to come
in human form. (2)
- In a game of chance with a friend,
don't cheat on the very first hand. (3)
Leave off these unfamiliar ways, Doll,
for we are well-acquainted, you and I. (4)
I know you're no companion--not mine;
how could you be, far from my side? (5)
How long must I stare into separation's black
Never having seen the light in union? (6)
- You whose sweet beauty has busted
the brisk market of abstinence (7)
and whose alluring face has corrupted
the plans of the people of pretense-- (8)
Whoever says you ill become me
as a sweetheart,
Lifeless may he live! (9)
- Commit no further
cruelty and injustice
on your very own lover,
Sanā'i (10)

I had a boy,
 a ruin-haunter
 a wine-imbiber
 and self-effacing
 and superstitious (1)
 Just my luck
 he took a vow of celibacy,
 a celibacy
 strict and conspicuous! (2)
 He had kept around the clock
 the ways of wine and cards and flute
 his essential hallmark. (3)
 He who didn't know "the Fig" sura by heart
 now sermonizes like a do-gooder. (4)
 He who used to recite from memory
 --as one recites "the Praise"--
 a number of fabricated suras, (5)
 today tells me with an ascetic mind
 parables, morals and allusions (6)
 Last night I told him,
 "My heart and soul,
 you are a source of pride to me; (7)
 Though you've become a cloistered ascete
 and are the root of all manner of blessings, (8)
 If I ask one little kiss of you,
 will you give it to me?"
 He said, "No, by God, you ruin-haunter!" (9)
 Sana'i, pleasing he is
 come desideresti!
 Resign your heart to fate:
 perchè arriverà (10)

5.2**Homoerotic****Ghazal 375**

You daubed black civet on ivory
 you attracted ants onto the moon (1)
 On a crimson rose
 contrary to my desire
 o heart-knapping idol
 you sprinkled black musk (2)
 You have stirred up
 debate and disputation
 between the bright day
 and the dark night (3)
 My tears and cheeks
 are like carnelian and gold
 since you decked
 your argentine with jet (4)
 You gambled
 on the table of my heart
 in a game of cruelty
 You sifted
 the dust of disaster
 over my head. (5)
 You robbed the patience
 from the heart of **Sanā'i**
 as you carried off his heart
 and stole away (6)

- My beloved
 makes a band
 of ambergris
 around the moon
 Have you ever seen anyone
 band the moon about
 in ambergris? (1)
- Now he makes niello on the sun
 with powdered musk
 sometimes he sifts ambra
 on a crimson tulip (2)
- A dusting of rust
 is visible
 upon the petals
 of the rose
 This year
 I fear
 violets will sprout
 through the jessamine (3)
- Alas
 that angel-face
 fearing the evil eye
 covers the white lily
 under peppermint (4)
- All who see the fresh fine line
 above that scarlet ruby
 will be helpless
 if it takes on the hues of the nenuphar (5)
- Arise, let's have some wine--
 To the sight of him!
 (before fickle fate
 makes a punishment of him) : (6)
- He plays a shell game
 with those lips
 like a magician
 at times he shows fresh-mined carnelian,
 at times pearls
 and then again sugar. (7)
- His life-extracting,
 heart-collecting eyes
 cast his spell
 knowing magic well
 they turn my marble eyes
 to jasmines. (8)
- Bravo to that face!
 were an angel to look upon it
 doubtless, in jealousy
 she would make the dust her bed. (9)

Such a heart-taker
 by whom I've described
 the qualities of my love
 at times
 fills my eyes with water
 and my face with gold (10)

Now he burns me
 like incense
 now melts me
 like sugar
 now plucks me
 like the minstrel's harp
 with his nails (11)

now tightens my worldly circumstances
 like his pursed lips
 now makes my body
 wispy like his hair,
 that tulip-cheek (12)

Now sets me floating in the air
 like a speck of dust
 now streaks the saffron
 of my cheeks
 with tears (13)

O Muslims!
 Refuge from that tricky heart-napper!
 Who denies my soul
 the world
 like Alexander's dam. (14)

When you twirl curls about your ear,
when you dangle braided locks down your back, (1)
Patience skitters from my heart
and all sense flutters from my body. (2)
If my shouting crescendoed, small wonder,
when the line of your jaw began wearing musk: (3)
when the moon in the sky turns black
the peoples of the world cry and clamor (4)
Last night,
at morning's first blush
still I had not slept a moment
in my anticipation of you. (5)
For a while I held vigil,
both eyes upon the road
For a time I kept both ears
pressed to the door. (6)
My thorns turn to roses in reunion with you;
My poison turns to nectar with your beauty. (7)

- When speaking
 you rain grace
 from those lips,
 my son.
 Why, then,
 silence those lips
 o son
 in impudence? (1)
- On the road of love
 your sayings are
 our confidant and companion
 and so, we want a word from you
 to make us confident,
 o son. (2)
- Long may you live to your heart's desire!
 for in subtle traces
 you are reason's companion
 and psyche's consolation,
 o son. (3)
- Sweet pleasanteries
 will be bitter to the taste
 of the idols
 of Qandahār
 when
 in a moment of jest
 you shed the graces
 of those lips,
 o son. (4)
- Morningtide
 as your face rises
 like the moon
 through your collar
 o son
 the jealous sun
 rends its garments (5)
- And so my head
 shadow-like
 is cast before you on the earth
 for in your cheeks
 and in your hair,
 you have both sun and shadow,
 son. (6)

- The rebellious
 toe the lines
 of my command;
 wait and see,
 o son,
 when you
 trace musky lines
 about that moon of yours. (7)
 Our age would be dark,
 as the tips of your hair,
 were not the moon
 of your face
 aglow
 beneath your hair
 o son. (8)
 You are a child
 o son,
 for you do not keep
 that orb aspin
 day and night
 like a polo ball
 with a stroke of that
 curled
 metaphorical
 mallet-like
 strand
 of hair; (9)
 caught
 on the day of battle
 the necks
 of men who mean business
 in the lasso-like
 locks of your hair,
 o son. (10)
 Captured
 by your spell-casting,
 sly-foxing eyes
 a million lives
 of leonine hunters, o son. (11)
- The bright orb of your face,
 a rose petal
 in the garden
 of heart-thieving,
 blooms upon
 an auspicious sapling,
 o son. (12)
- Many a heart
 has withered
 in the lusciousness
 of that rose petal--

Alas
 if you plant shrubbery
 on that rose petal,
 o son!

(13)

Why would the whole world
 fall in love with you
 Jacob-like,
 unless you are
 a memento
 from Joseph
 to the world,
 o son?

(14)

Sanā' i
 to your love
 owes his worldly pride;
 Why then
 in reunion with him
 do you feel
 shame and disgrace,
 o Son?

(15)

6.1

Panegyric

Ghazal 22

- O doll of crystal character
 more pleasant
 than the water of life
 In this
 the end of days
 for the deniers
 you are
 a miraculous sign (1)
- You possess both eyes and feet
 you radiate light and tenebrity
 In earnest
 and in sport
 adored
 o venerable one
 like the Kaaba
 like Manāt (2)
- I see your beauty
 waxing
 I see your people
 conquered
 A beauty like you,
 come forth
 from paradise
 unchaperoned,
 how can this be? (3)
- I'm in flames
 in your rose orchard
 I'm afflicted
 by your torments
 the ecstasy
 of one look
 at your face
 exceeds all things created (4)
- When you ope your mouth
 the world fills up
 with eglantine
 Sand and rain
 mineral and plant
 sing your praises
 as I do (5)
- Exalted
 like the Kaaba
 is your quarter
 or rather
 the dust
 at the foot
 of your face
 With your fragrant lips
 the spirit is returned
 to life (6)

- Your nectary lips
 a proof
 of the daylight
 though it be manifest night
 and those beauty marks
 on your jowel
 shine in the sky
 like the Three Daughters (7)
- You lay claim to us
 with your lips
 you document your claim
 with eloquent words:
 Like the Sufis
 rais aloud your call
 as you plunder the soul (8)
- And if you slay a meek one
 perform a miracle
 with your lips
 The goddess 'Uzzā
 grants no powers
 so slap Lāt,
 her sister,
 in the face
 with the creedal "No!" (9)
- Our longings
 for you
 overwhelm us;
 All Baghdad is your auditorium
 One eye here weeps the Tigris
 another eye there, the Euphrates (10)
- O you,
 like an angel
 like a seraph,
 practice magic
 on the golden calf
 And I will recite over you
 straight away
 the verse of eulogy:
 "Only good deeds endure" (11)
- Sanā'i's spirit belongs to you!
 why do you avoid him?
 Your path
 crosses his
 neither in life
 nor in death (12)

- God has finely arrayed you
 my page,
 Izad!
 May the evil eye be averted,
 Izad's name be praised! (1)
- God never created
 nor brought to being
 a single face
 like yours
 so perfect
 in proportion (2)
- In the world of your beauty
 with your cheeks and hair
 God joins the daylight
 with the dark. (3)
- God made
 the dust in your lane
 each and every step along the way
 a fount of glory
 for all souls. (4)
- To magnify your beauty
 God gave
 grace
 eternal form. (5)
- To increase the bounty
 of your existence
 God placed
 all necks
 in your debt. (6)
- To lengthen their service
 at your stirrup
 God gave man
 long-lived breath. (7)
- God made
 the dust of the hooves
 of the mounts
 on your path
 collyrium
 for the eyes
 of commoners and nobles
 alike. (8)
- If you ask
 the Evil One
 do you recognize the praise-worthy God, Izad?
 He'll say :
 Look at that mien! Which Izad do you mean!? (9)

- You who drink
 respiteless
 the wine of men
 Izad has placed
 the goblet
 to the lips of your soul. (10)
- Wholly unenticed
 you are
 by the trap of self
 and so Izad gives you
 grape wine
 cup after cup. (11)
- To hunt down hearts
 God laid his trap
 made with your hair
 its bait,
 your beautymark. (12)
- The Kaaba
 which is your shrine
 --its door, its walls
 its floor, its roof--
 is all god/Izad (13)
- Judge fairly!
 God has not withheld
 from you
 any goodness
 any satisfaction. (14)
- He has arrayed you finely
 and more wondrous still,
 He calls you by his own name,
 Izad. (15)
- You are constant
 and so Izad granted
 Sanā'i
 station
 at your court (16)

6.3 Panegyric Ghazal 401

Hail
 Kashmiri painting!
 Hail
 Heavenly houri of the court!
 thou who art
 Stony-hearted
 silver-bodied
 cypress-statured
 moon-faced, hail! (1)
 Thou art the monarch
 of the beauties
 of the horizons
 in fineness
 thou art the pinnacle

In thy lips is treacle for the lovers
 in thy cheeks
 the sunshine of the court. (2)
 Bubbly
 mirthful
 attractive
 thou art
 wondrous
 lissome
 agile!

A huckster
 a cad
 a profligate
 thou art
 elegant
 good
 desirable. (3)

Coveting the narcissus of thine eyes
 I go to every gathering
 no companion
 have I
 in my yearning for thee
 but the breeze at dawn. (4)

Thou makest me constant sad
 sweet doll
 since thy heart
 is heedless
 of my misery (5)
 Deprived of thy face--
 thy tulip blossom--
 I weep pitifully
 like the dew

I fill up the cosmos
from the Moon
down to the Fish
with wailing and lamenting (6)

Now thou adornest thy visage
and now thou parest thy tress
so fine art thou
so gorgeous
Thou art the beauty of the Shah's army. (7)

As my idol left
 our party
 to set foot
 in the howdah
 He branded the hearts
 of the lovers
 every inch
 with the fire-iron
 of regret (1)
 The heart-stealers lost
 their hearts
 the moment
 he loaded his mount
 The lovers gave up
 the ghost
 as he stepped
 into the howdah (2)
 The day darkened on me
 jet black
 like his locks
 anticipating
 his absence
 as I saw the servant
 pack the bundles on
 that tooth-cut camel. (3)
 The splendor of a beauty
 like the moon
 routed the dark of night
 as my idol turned his face
 homeward. (4)
 The lovers' eyes
 turned the road
 to puddle and mud
 with tears
 His legs wallowed
 in mud
 until he alighted
 at his destination (5)
 His path filled with mud
 the whole way
 as the eyes of a world entire
 in separation from him
 stung with the pepper
 of their love (6)
 This servant withdrew
 his sorrowed heart
 from the pact of affection with you
 because it bonded
 with the inviting
 Aşil al-Molk Xvājeh As'ad (7)

- Friends! last night we had a banquet at the inn!
 The way was hard, the night dusky, but I went. (1)
 Upon the road to that King of Idols' court
 I saw all of love that was veiled in the world: (2)
 No thought of lamp or candle, as the beauty
 of the fair-faced ones cast light upon light. (3)
 None could offer gifts befitting him, for
 the tears of his lovers spilled like scattered pearls. (4)
 Perfume lost all savor along his lane, whose
 very dust sheds ambergris and camphor. (5)
 The countenance and lips of wine-imbibers
 formed a carpet on his terrace floor;
 his lovers sat reclined on Houris' eyes. (6)
 His fountain flowed, I saw, with wine, not water;
 beneath each branch a thousand drunken lovers lolled. (7)
 Many a man much mentioned in the world
 he graced with no regard nor glance, while many
 a poor man with sore heart he mentioned there. (8)
 Whoso feared him, he came near and greeted,
 and who approached him boldly, he avoided. (9)
 A million stood dumbfounded, like Moses,
 in his path, where each stone was Mount Sinai. (10)
 All the invitations bore the heading:
 "Thou shalt not see me," beauty nor splendor. (11)
 The lovers wailed, the righteous lamented;
 None knew it a funeral or a fête. (12)
 Blocking others, the doorman let me pass,
 For my name--at your service--was famed in love. (13)
 That night the body of my soul, in person,
 met his personage but gazed not on his face,
 for he overwhelmed my figure and I bowed, (14)
 to see held in that idol's hand a scroll
 etched with the affirmation of our being,
 crossed with negation of that "no"'s command! (15)
 Gazing on that scroll I noted well its words:
 The mysteries of the lectures of Maḥmud ebn Maṣṣur (16)

- You, whose beauteous face
 is scenery for the souls,
 whose sandaled soles walk
 upon the headdress of men! (1)
 The turning Wheel circumambulates
 your ever-fixed abode;
 Reason showers accolades
 on your youthful wisdom! (2)
 You put to shame
 the here and after-worlds
 and, to ward off their envy,
 the collyrium of the verse
 "His eyes did not waver"
 was revealed in your insightful eyes. (3)
 The heavenly bodies, guardsmen
 at your door and on your roof;
 The Penitents,
 your Law's adornment
 on the earth; (4)
 In paradise
 the light of beauty radiates
 from your soul-revivifying face;
 the downy cheeks of Houris, perfumed
 by your ambergris-annointed hair. (5)
 Where is even one Sultan
 within this palace
 who has a throne like yours?
 Is there a single Rostam on this battlefield
 to rival you? (6)
 How could your words of intercession
 ever fall to the dust,
 unanswered,
 O you whose exalted shadow
 none has yet seen
 cast over the earth? (7)
 On the evening of *Me'rāj*,
 Gabriel had not been your guide
 had your lofty aspirations
 not furnished him his own *Borāq*. (8)
 As soon as God produced you
 from the workshop of the unseen world
 both worlds at once turned to face
 in your decree's direction. (9)
 O what a distinguished knight!
 who charged
 from the stony bowels of earth to Venus
 on that white caparisoned
 sure-footed,
 swift-gaited steed of yours! (10)

The highest heaven is
 the parasol shading your throne
 for He has no need of a parasol,
 your Lord. (11)

The wine of your knowledge
 quenched the thirst
 of the creatures of both worlds;
 as we looked on your ocean,
 it was filled to the brim. (12)

Alas, if only
 Abraham, the friend of God
 and Moses, who talked with Him,
 were here,
 to see with their own eyes,
 that spirit-resuscitating beauty of yours! (13)

The former would have fallen to kiss
 your sandals with his eyes
 and the latter would have swept
 with his lashes, unceremoniously,
 the ground where you stood. (14)

In paradise there is no looking glass
 to contemplate one's beauty:
 so the bright and fair-bodied
 gaze on their reflection
 in your face. (15)

Sanā'i has no hope
 in the dark stages of dismay
 but your liberal hand
 and your world-bestowing kindness. (16)

7.2 **Religious themes** **Ghazal 129**

- With Him my heart was
 uniquely
 affectionate and solicitous
 The Simorgh of love
 nested in my heart (1)
 A host of angels
 gathered at my doorstep
 My grandeur touched
 the very threshold
 of God's great Throne. (2)
- In my path He set
 His hidden trap of deception
 Adam was the bait in the center of that hoop. (3)
 He wished to make me a target of damnation;
 --He doeth what He willeth--
 The mortal, Adam, was merely a pretext. (4)
- I was the preceptor
 of the angelic realm
 in the skies
 My hopes for the highest plane of paradise
 were immortal. (5)
 For seven hundred thousand years
 I was obedient
 thousands upon thousands of treasures
 I amassed
 of my obedience. (6)
- In the Tablet I read
 that one would be damned--
 I believed it could be anyone
 but never
 suspected myself: (7)
 Man is composed of earth
 and I of His unadulterated light;
 "I am peerless," I said.
 But He was the Peerless. (8)
- The heavenly angels, they said:
 "You've not bowed in prayer."
 How could I? it would have been
 interposing between
 Him
 and
 me. (9)

My friend! come then
and do not rely so on your obedience,
for that verse was revealed
for the understanding
of all people
at all times.

(10)

When finally
I realized
the destined words
had been pronounced
on me
one hundred springs
poured forth
from each of my eyes.

(11)

You who are wise in love!
in this
there is no sin
upon me;
That they entered His presence
was not without His Will.

(12)

I lived	a few	days in	this world;	
I rode	the winds	that blew	across	(1)
the dust.	I ran	hither	and yon,	
knew toil	and pain.	Not for	one night	
did greed	grant rest	to me.	None in	(2)
anger	have I	flyted.	None did	
I praise	in hope	of gain,	nor with	(3)
lust nor	selfish	craving	my pure	
soul stain.	Never	did I	covet	(4)
ease and	add thus	to my	burdens.	(5)
And at	the end	when death	bore me	
away,	I went	and reaped	the seeds	
I sowed.	My pith	rejoined	with its	(6)
kin-pith	and I,	freed from	pain, at	
last found	peace. I	know not	where I've	(7)
gone;	None knows	where	I've gone.	(8)

7.4 **Religious themes** **Ghazal 111**

- He who bears his heart
as a gift
to him who lives
in the house of the beloved,
bears a thing of nothingness
and must offer
in exchange
his life. (1)
- He'll roll up the carpet of nobility
with his reason
and cast out the heart's garments of misfortune
from the house of sorrow. (2)
- Though it is most difficult, the affair of love,
affection for the Friend
helps him wear well
love's raiments over heart and soul (3)
- One must be a marcher
to walk the path of faith
and drain with heart the cup of sorrow
in accordance with the oath. (4)
- Creed, covenant and the Imamate:
all are one in the path of faith!
Where is the man who will exalt religion
while following the path of faith? (5)
- The impediment of alienation [from God]
routs the army
bearing the standard "There is no power;"
for a change, the royal parasol
is borne over the rays of religion. (6)
- Where the man with the Prophet's mettle, to bear,
for the sake of God, cruelty and oppression
at the hands of the unworthy Arab lords? (7)
- We need a righteous man, like Abū Bakr,
who, with sincerity and pious deeds,
will, with every fiber of his being,
face the fearful foe, abide the adder's strike; (8)
- Or else an 'Umar, who, after the Prophet,
led in Islam's name an Arab army
across the Oxus into Turkestan. (9)
- Where that pious man, who, sinless,
in the pulpit and per the Book,
will bear, like 'Utmān,
the sting of an uprising's sword? (10)
- Where is the Lion-man,
the indefatigable, who
in the battle for religion
in the ranks of Şiffīn
bears the tyranny of Marwān's army? (11)

- Walk the road of religion
 with the sure feet
 of Bu Darr,
 and if you pride yourself
 take pride in the laws of Ahmad,
 the Elect. (1)
- For Faith
 be a warrior
 like the peregrine falcon--
 Always strike the blade
 like the Lion-man,
 on the enemy of religion. (2)
- How long will you flit
 stupidly about
 outside annihilation's bed of roses?
 Enter that everlasting enclosure
 and pitch your tent
 within its rosebower! (3)
- Greed and lust
 muster
 within your body
 their host
 of heathenry;
 Tonight, strike
 an unsuspected blow
 against this host of heathens. (4)
- At every dawn
 seize the knocker on the divine gate;
 Set fire to this world of deceptions
 with the light of your heart (5)
- The ephemeral world is like a robber
 taking all by force--
 if you're a man,
 kick in the skull of such a thug! (6)
- You are a nightingale,
 full of words, I know, but never acts;
 be a falcon for a while
 and bring your talons into action! (7)
- Draw breath so long as you breathe
 only in religion's cause:
 like **Sanā'i**
 walk across the planets
 with the feet of the Sunnah. (8)
- You who are fast asleep:
 bestir, bestir, awake!
 Walk manly
 and vigilant
 down the path of meaning! (9)

- Saqi!
 pour the wine
 for without wine
 there is no joy in love
 and this heart
 cannot bear
 to think on
 what the days have destined. (1)
 I'm braised in love;
 you'll want uncute wine for me,
 my dear--
 only raw wine agrees
 with a mulled man. (2)
 How can you seek for
 peace and calm
 in the constellations
 when peace and calm
 are contrary
 to the heavens' constitution? (3)
- To outward seeming,
 for the sake of the uninitiated,
 Love is forbidden,
 as this name is not fitting
 for every stranger. (4)
 Forbidden too, the drinking of wine
 in these our days
 For in our condition
 not every hand is meet for the goblet-- (5)
 Let him beware not to fall
 into the trap of desire
 in the expectation of love--
 This is the path of the elite,
 there is no place here for the commoner. (6)
 For the elite, but not for the commoner,
 as every wise man knows,
 the bait in the trap of passion
 is none but the soul-slaying goblet (7)
 For the ignorant
 a trap is laid
 sans bait
 in the grazing grounds
 And for the lovers
 the bait lies in their path
 sans trap. (8)

- O heart-stealing Saki,
 don't leave my hand empty of wine,
 for once again
 I've caught my heart
 in the trap of love. (1)
 A new spring season
 brings forth
 a new affair,
 a new lover
 stole my heart
 and my affairs
 are no longer
 in my hands. (2)
- Though I gave my heart
 in ignorance
 so easily away,
 I've no regrets,
 for I've pledged my affection to him. (3)
 When I saw his fair face
 I cut off all affection
 from the comely;
 his cruelty drove me to rend
 the veils of love
 and break my vows. (4)
 Well, since such passion
 is foreign to you,
 I know you are not like me,
 afflicted:
- Give me the Syrian vintage
 perchance inebriate me
 in one fell swill: (5)
 I want not a moment's repose
 now
 from measuring out
 the vintage,
 For there's no other way to be
 in this melancholy
 that I'm in. (6)

- Arise,
 my boy,
 let's have
 a morning draught:
 Let's raise on high
 both wine and spirit. (1)
- We are the meek,
 permit us a moment's conquest
 of a couple casks of wine. (2)
- We sip the vintage openly,
 unhypocritically, because
 we give lip service to
 sincere repentance. (3)
- Let's set the mood
 with the poetry of Farroxi
 Let's dance
 to the sounds of Abu al-Fotuh (4)
- And if some intruder
 rains on our soirée,
 we'll pray with fervent supplication
 the prayer of Noah. (5)
- And if Sanā'i
 will go on sleeping still
 Let's have a morning nightcap
 before he wakes. (6)

8.4**Wine poems****Ghazal 234**

- Assure the heart of its existence,
 assure it:
 Drain glass after glass
 so long as you are here. (1)
- Not of the wines that deepen drunkenness,
 of those wines that lighten psyche's sorrow. (2)
- Let your companions all be of one ilk
 and mirthful:
 whether Bestāmi or Ebrāhim-e Adham (3)
- Jonayd and Shebli
 Ma'ruf-e Karxi or Habib
 or Adam
 and Jesus of Mary. (4)
- Quaff the wine of angelic yearning
 in truth
 that your heart and soul
 may be full of cheer (5)

- Arise!
 With a round of the goblet
 we will clamber
 up above the seven heavens,
 and conquer the seven climes (1)
 The seven spheres
 are hardly noted
 by the man of love:
 so it is meet
 that we should hike our hems
 above this plane of being. (2)
 Our own concupiscent soul,
 a formidable enemy,
 stands blocking our path:
 the Greater Crusade
 is to train our daggers
 on her. (3)
- Our feet are fettered
 in the trap
 of love
 for the beautiful faces,
 thus have we brought pain and ruin
 on our heads. (4)
 Caesar's palace
 and old Kesrā's
 are gone;
 What of it?
 we'll pierce
 slaves' rings
 by our machismo
 in the ears of
 two hundred Caesars! (5)
 Should the dust
 of the friend's lane
 annoint our cheeks,
 with heart and soul
 we'll sign an order
 of discontinuation
 for musk and ambergris. (6)
 Let those whose hems are wet and soiled
 be dry of foot and hand.
 Arise! we'll draw a circle of annihilation
 all around
 Sanā'i. (7)
 If there's wool in his hat,
 let's burn it!
 Let's carouse awhile
 our wit and wareness
 in inebriation. (8)

Arise
 swig the wine
 and swallow no sorrow,
 nor suffer the anguish
 of days not yet come. (1)
 To the best of our ability
 we deal with one and all
 with generosity and geniality. (2)
 Let us seek
 neither to trouble friends
 nor to rend the veiled secrets
 of enemies. (3)
 Let us not hear
 what is unfit to hear
 and pass over
 what is unfit to say. (4)
 How could we,
 busied in bringing our own selves
 to account for our own faults
 seek out the faults of other folks? (5)
 You who urge us
 to look to the end of things,
 we are not men concerned with seeing ends. (6)
 We are bondsmen
 to the beautiful
 the tulip-cheeked,
 lovers of argent-bosomed
 heart-stealers. (7)
 Nights you'll find us
 nowhere but the tavern bench,
 in daylight
 ever on a different trash-heap. (8)
 Wine-drinkers, gamblers of loaded dice,
 All are better than we and we are the worst! (9)
 Those who've wagered all
 and been picked clean
 in both worlds,
 we would not buy and indenture them,
 not for a barley grain. (10)
 Lovers of the icon
 and red wine
 are we;
 enemies
 to the house
 to the bloodlines
 of mother and father! (11)
 God grant subsistence to the fathers,
 but not from us,
 who are prodigal sons. (12)

9.2 Qalandari Ghazal 231

Ever since I realized
that the world is in spin,
that a man's foundation
is never firm, (1)
I knew it was better,
so long as we are resident,
to be drunk and happy
night and day. (2)

What's it to me,
"Beelzebub said such and such"?
"Adam said so on and so forth"?
So what? (3)
You say, "Don't drink wine."
I drink wine.
You say, "Don't sell yourself short."
I don't wish to be thought of highly. (4)
You fall to the Kaaba, I to the east;
Why in the world make such a fuss and fuddle?! (5)

For me : sunshine
 the beloved
 wine
 and kissing rubies.
For you : the pillar by the Black Stone
 the place where Abraham stood
 the water of Zamzam. (6)

Oh, I grant that you will surely attain
the garden and eternal paradise;
so just be certain I am gone to hell. (7)
For what observances of religion
was the Dog in the Cave sent to heaven?
For what sin did Balaam wind up in hell? (8)
You may be like a Balaam in worship,
but, even so, I'm no less than a dog. (9)
I do not know what your end
or mine will be
on the Resurrection Day;
God only knows. (10)

You're always talking about Islam:
it is but prayer and ritual,
your Islam. (11)
You don't dare
to follow home the Meaning
You just circle around
and lay your claims. (12)

You who walk the trail of love for beauties!
Follow the winebiber.

Tie the sacred cincture with the light of meaning
not with laying claims. (1)

Plant a million kisses--
not on the beloved's drunken body--
on the dust at the vintner's door

down the lane where the ruins lay (2)

Banish all useless debate and disputation
from the quarter of the heart:

Hammer a firm spike with all your being
into the door of aspiration (3)

as long as you accompany your Self
you will not make it--

Don't waste your energy.
Pitch the tent of mysteries

at the door of unseen meaning (4)

Concoct, before that door, a honeyed potion
of lethal poison;

Mix it more with hope--in truth--
than snake's venom. (5)

Then
as you come upon
an uninitiate

Pretend to be wicked
and blasphemous

On the hem of the visible colors
Stitch your name:

a bandit! (6)

- My beloved
up and left
down the path of the Qalandar,
a path that has
set a fire to my soul (1)
Once
he walked the pathways
of devout, reverential religion
and now he drifts
the currents
with those who
wager away the anchor: (2)
he adulterated
asceticism with profligacy
faith with heresy
the light with darkness
and evil with good (3)
He bent my frame
to a circle,
like a ring,
and then rapped me
like a knocker
on the door (4)
He burned me
on the fires of hell
and then
doused hell-fire
with water from
the paradisaal spring (5)
In a drunken dance
he stamped his feet
within the monastery,
the saint
for love
beat his hands
upon his head (6)
With the juice of the grape
he came into the monastery
In the Magestary
he poured
the water of the vine
over the sacral flame. (7)
- My situation is not to my taste,
but he, at least--though I did not wish for it--
made my mouth water. (8)
It would bring me joy for him to tell us
he lifted his hand
to achieve his desires (9)

He incited riot in the city
 that idol -- worshipper of sacred cincture --
 as out he strutted from the ruins, ripped; (1)
 modesty's veil rent; wine goblet in palm;
 savoring the elixir of liquor,
 upholding the standard of blasphemy. (2)

Having abandoned the abode
 of being and nothingness,
 He who exits the realm
 of existence gains Nothing. (3)
 How could he be an idol
 that wassail-hearted
 ascete-creeded icon
 who opens wounds
 with his sword of cruelty
 in the hearts of lovers (4)
 at the very moment
 one espying
 the beauty of his cheeks
 jumps from behind the curtain
 of supposition and desire? (5)

Never have you seen a saint of God
 could gaze upon him
 but that within the very hour
 that saint girded himself
 with the forty-knotted sacred cincture. (6)
 Now and then in the dust of the ruins
 he animates an earthling
 whose mortal clay transforms him
 to a worshipper of dust. (7)

At the door of the Kaaba of spiritual conceits
 what "Here I am"s we shout
 when we cannot find a seat
 in the idol pagoda (8)

- If you hang out
in the lane of love
living under one roof with us,
how is it you are familiar
with all and sundry
and act such the stranger to us? (1)
- We wear but one face
in our love for you
reflecting truly, like the mirror.
So why are you two-headed
in our friendship, like a comb? (2)
- You call us your candle
and set us before you--
why fly, then, in fear for you life,
if you're a moth? (3)
- Only after a lifetime of travel
can you follow our path
straight and narrow,
for you go katty-cornered
like a Queen, making unwise moves. (4)
- To be a lover
is to cast off the shackles
of reason and fitness --
if you are such, you are a lover
and if not, you are a madman. (5)
- You feel not a heartbeat's satisfaction
in your congress with us
day and night you mope, melancholic
giving us not a moment's attention. (6)
- Your friend, my idol, is on a dais
and for this is dear to you;
you bow on his threshold
and it is for this that
you are trampled by all creatures (7)
- The plain is everywhere
warmed and brightened by the sun
you remain stone cold and blue
from staying in the house. (8)
- For our sake you circle about our trap
but there is more than one way to bait a trap
and you're a man to take the bait. (9)
- Sanā'i**, you are in love with yourself, not us.
For all night and all day you are a man
occupied with spells, tales and sleight-of-hand. (10)

10.2Sufic ghazalsGhazal 11

Saqi
 you know
 we are drunk,
 give us the goblet!
 For
 an hour
 tranquilize
 this unsteady life (1)
 You,
 being
 the prince of
 our gathering,
 the crowd all gaga:

Pour it raw for the mulled man
 and cute for the raw man (2)

Greed
 makes its home
 in the frame
 of Adam's offspring;
 Fretting
 over who's first
 and who's got more
 has blackened our allotted days (3)

Hell
 will not
 fill with us
 nor paradise
 grow empty without us
 Saqi!
 give wine
 colored
 like the judas tree. (4)

What use
 the arguments
 the propositions
 of Bāyazīd and Šebli and Karxi?
 Know
 that you
 must do
 the work
 yourself
 and struggle
 for your own name (5)

For a while
let us speak beyond
the confines of Adam's clay:
There is neither
fame
nor
infamy
for us
whether elect
or layman.

(6)

10.3Sufic ghazalsGhazal 263

We've seen the turbans and those who wear them
 we've heard pious pretenders' rosaries (1)
 we've passed by the cells of the ascetics
 we've run through the world of theologians (2)
 we've resided in mystics' seminaries
 we've rent ceremonial Sufi cloaks (3)
 we've suffered sophistic disputation
 we've tasted the refreshments of the cowl (4)

In all of this, we've seen no hue of truth--
 just marketable (but worthless) fads (5)

We chose a swain from within the ruins
 snuggled in with him as hierarch. (6)
 We cast off our hearts in pining for his face,
 we aim to serve his every beck and call. (7)
 He's nobody and we're not anyone
 and so we've gravitated to each other. (8)

O Sanā'i

To be a nobleman
or to love the beloved--
one or the other.

To have both
is not permissible.

The soul by love's Martial arrow wounded,
and the heart soars above the rings of Saturn?
It is impossible.

(1)

Exclaiming "Show me Lord"
like Moses in an enthused hour,
and returning later
to tell the heart

"I am the all high"
like the vazir of Pharoah?
Inconceivable.

(2)

To win the love of idols
a display of machismo is a must;
if you are womanly
and lack ambition
to boast like men
is not credible.

(3)

After you have heard "I am God"
in the wilderness of guidance
to blanch from a stick like a serpent
is unthinkable.

(4)

You wish to enter the arena
to win your manhood?
standing round the edge
without ball or mallet
is hardly suitable.

(5)

If the Josephian beauty
disappears before your eyes,
to sit safely in the city of Canaan
is unconscionable.

(6)

And if you lay constant claim with:
"Patience is fitting for me"
then weeping and wailing
in the house of mourning
is unforgivable.

(7)

Since you know that Truth
alights at no stage
but at the Throne,
to lead camels
through the desert
by the reins
is unbelievable.

(8)

10.5 Sufic ghazals Ghazal 5

Toss those
 world-devouring
 locks
 again

Let your
 world-illuminating
 face
 shine

(1)

Entrust those
 two twinklers--
 spell-casting
 heart-wrenching
 soul-piercers--
 once more
 to the
 pure-souled
 Sufi-minded
 lovers

(2)

Trot out
 (encore!)
 into the arena
 of reason
 and salvation
 those
 black-garbed
 heresy-inciting
 faith-devourers

(3)

A handful
 far-flung
 high-strung
 have raised
 their bows
 in rebellion

Bring the point
 of that
 fleet-feathered
 revenge-seeking
 arrow
 once again
 into action

(4)

The days
 grow
 short
 like the life
 of your
 ill-wishers
 Cut off a shock
 from your locks
 and lengthen the light of day. (5)

Get the
 looking-glass
 and gaze
 if you wish
 to see a show
 into the
 garden-cheering
 narcissus (6)

Part your lips
 momentarily
 that the sky
 may roll out
 unseasonally
 autumnally
 the silk-clad New Year's spring (7)

Bind the initiates
 with a peck
 on the mouth:
 one must give
 a little bait
 to novice birds (8)

Crack the trap
 of **Sanā'i**
 with those two
 almond-eyes
 Your almonds
 are
 to my trap
 like a rock,
 walnut-cracking. (9)

**THE PERSIAN TEXTS OF SELECTED GHAZALS
OF SANĀ' I**

- هر کرا در دل بوَد بازارِ یار
- 1 عمر و جان و دل کند در کارِ یار
- خاصه آن بیدل که چون من یکزمان
- 2 بر زمین نشکبید از دیدارِ یار
- بنگر اندر گل که رشوت چون دهد
- 3 خون شود لعل از پیِ رخسارِ یار
- کبک را بین تا چگونه شد خجل
- 4 زان کرشمه کردن و رفتارِ یار
- در جهان فردوسِ اعلی دارد آنک
- 5 یک نفس بوده است در پندارِ یار
- در همه عالم ندیدم لذتی
- 6 خوشتر و شیرین تر از گفتارِ یار
- همچو سنگ آید مرا یاقوتِ سرخ
- 7 زان لبِ یاقوتِ شکر بارِ یار
- بادِ نوشین دوش گفתי ناگهان
- 8 چینِ زلف آشفست بر گلنارِ یار ،
- زان قَبَل امروز مشکِ آلود گشت
- 9 خانه و بام و در و دیوارِ یار
- رشکِ لعل و لؤلؤ اندر کان و بحر
- 10 زان عقیق و لؤلؤِ شهوارِ یار

- شد دلِ مسکینِ من در غمِ نژند
 11 می نداند بیش ازین هنجارِ یار
 دست بر سر ماند چون کژدمِ دلم
 12 زان دو زلفینِ سیّه چون مارِ یار
 هوش و عقلم برده اند از دل تمام
 13 آن دونرگس بر رخِ چون نارِ یار
 مر سنائی را فتاد این نادره
 14 چون معزّی گفت از اخبارِ یار
 آنچه من میبینم از آزارِ یار
 15 گر بگویم بشکنم بازارِ یار

- ای زلفِ تو تکیه کرده بر گوش
 1 ای جعدِ تو حلقه گشته بر دوش
 ای کرده دلم ز عشق مفتون
 2 وی کرده تنم ز هجر مدهوش
 چون رزم کنی و بزم سازی
 3 ای لاله رخِ سمن بناگوش
 گویند ترا مهِ قدح گیر
 4 خوانند ترا بتِ زره پوش
 گیرم که مرا شبی به خلوت
 5 تا روز نگیری اندر آغوش
 نیکو نبود که بی گناهی
 6 یکباره مرا کنی فراموش
 گیرم که سنائی از غمت مُرد
 7 باری سخنش به طبع بنیوش
 بی روی تو بود دوش تا صبح
 8 از ناله او جهان پر از جوش
 یا رب شبِ کس مباد هرگز
 9 زین گونه که او گذاشت شبِ دوش

POEM 1.3

Ghazal 173

- با تابشِ زلف و رُختِ ای ماهِ دل افروز
 1 از شامِ تو قدر آید و از صبحِ تو نَوروز
 از جنبشِ موی تو بر آید دو گل از مشک
 2 وز تابشِ روی تو بر آید دو شب از روز
 در مملکتِ عاشقی از پسته و بادام
 3 بوسِ تو جهانگیر شد و غمزه جهانسوز
 تا دیده ما جز به تو آرام نگیرد
 4 از بوسه‌ش مهری کن و ز غمزه‌ش بر دوز
 بر گردِ یکی گردِ دلِ ما و در آن دل
 5 گر جز غمِ خود یابی آتش زن و بفروز
 هرچند همه دفترِ عشاق بخواندیم
 6 با این همه در عشقِ تو هستیم نوآموز
 با هجرِ تو هر شب ز پی وصلِ تو گویم :
 7 " یا ربّ تو شبِ عاشق و معشوق مکن روز "

- تا تافته زلفینِ تو بر گوش نهادند
- 1 عشاقِ ترا غالیه بر دوش نهادند
- من حلقهٔ فرمانِ تو در گوش کشیدم
- 2 تا حلقهٔ زلفِ تو برین گوش نهادند
- از جورِ تو پیراهنِ عشاقِ قبا شد
- 3 تا نامِ ترا سروِ قبا پوش نهادند
- تا گردِ مه آن غالیه زنجیرِ نهادی
- 4 زنجیرِ برین عاشقِ مدهوش نهادند
- در وقتِ ملاحِ ز پیِ فتنه و آشوب
- 5 در کام و لبِ تو شکر و نوش نهادند

POEM 1.5

Ghazal 235

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | نا دیدنت آفتِ روانم | ای دیدنِ تو حیاتِ جانم |
| 2 | بِفروز به نورِ وصلِ جانم | دلسوخته ای به آتشِ عشق |
| 3 | جز نام ز عیش بر زبانم | بی عشق وصالِ تو نباشد |
| 4 | بی روی تو بودِ چون توانم | اکنون که دلم ربودی از من |
| 5 | درمانش جز از تو می ندانم | دردیست مرا درین دل ازعشق |
| 6 | همواره به کوی تو دوانم | بر بوی تو ز آرزوی رویت |
| 7 | جز نامِ تو نیست بر زبانم | تا گوش همی شنید نامت |
| 8 | لؤلؤست همیشه بر رخانم | تا لاله شدت حجابِ لؤلؤ |
| 9 | وین اشک به رنگِ ناردانم | گلنارِ بهی شدم ز تیمار |
| 10 | شورِ دل و نورِ دیدگانم | شد خالِ رخِ تو ای نگارین |
| 11 | من بنده عشقِ جاودانم | ای عشقِ تو بر دلم خداوند |
| 12 | از و هم برون و از گمانم | وصفِ تو شده ست ماهرویا |
| 13 | بنشان برِ خویش يك زمانم | پیش آی و بتا و باده پیش آر |
| | از دستِ تو گر چشمِ شرابی | |
| 14 | تا حشرِ چو خضر زنده مانم | |

POEM 2.1

Ghazal 215

- من نصیبِ خویش دوش از عمرِ خود بر داشتم
 1 کز سمنِ بالین و از شمشاد بستر داشتم
 داشتم در بر نگاری را که از دیدارِ او
 2 پایهٔ تختِ خود از خورشید برتر داشتم
 نرگس و شمشاد و سوسن مشک و سیم و ماه و گل
 3 تا به هنگامِ سحر هر هفت در بر داشتم
 بر نهاده برِ چو سیم و سوسن داشتم
 4 لب نهاده بر لبِ چو شیر و شکر داشتم
 دستِ او بر گردنِ من همچو چنبر بود و من
 5 دستِ خود در گردنِ او همچو چنبر داشتم
 بامدادان چو نگه کردم بسی فرقی نبود
 6 چنبر از زر داشت او سوسن ز عنبر داشتم
 چو مؤذن گفت يك " الله اكبر" كافرم
 7 گر امیدِ آن دگر " الله اكبر" داشتم

POEM 2.2

Ghazal 25

- 1 ما را همه عمرِ خود تماشا است تا نقشِ خیالِ دوست با ماست
 2 والله که میانِ خانه صحراست آنجا که جمالِ دوستانست
 3 يك خار به از هزار خرماست وانجا که مرادِ دل بر آمد
 4 ورچه سَلَبِ زمین ز دیباست، گرچه نَفَسِ هوا ز مشک است
 5 چون دو لبِ دوست پر ثریاست، هر چند شکوفه بر درختان
 6 چون دیده میانِ روی حوراست، ور چند میانِ کوه لاله
 7 اینها همه از میانه بر خاست چون دولتِ عاشقی بر آمد
 8 هر دیده که در فراق بیناست هرگز نشود به وصل مغرور
 9 بلبل ز گل آشیانه آراست اکنون که ز باغ زاغ کم شد
 10 زین شُکر که زاغ کم شد و کاست بر هر سرِ شاخِ عندلیبی است
 فریادِ همی کند به شادی:
 11 « امروز زمانه نوبتِ ماست »

POEM 2.3

Ghazal 236

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | انسِ دل و راحتِ روانم | آمد بر من جهان و جانم |
| 2 | بفُزود هزار جان به جانم | بر خواستمش به برگرفتم |
| 3 | گفتم که مگر به آسمانم | از قد بلند و زلفِ پشتش |
| 4 | رفت از بر من جهان و جانم | چون سر بنهاد در کنارم |
| | فریاد مرا ز بانگِ مؤذن | |
| 5 | من بنده بانگِ پاسبانم | |

- روزی بت من مست به بازار بر آمد
- 1 گرد از دل عشاق به يك بار بر آمد
- صد دلشده را از غم او روز فرو شد
- 2 صد شیفته را از غم او کار بر آمد
- رخسار و خطش بود چو دیبا و چو عنبر
- 3 باز آن دو به هم کرد و خریدار بر آمد
- در حسرت آن عنبر و دیبای نو آئین
- 4 فریاد ز بزاز و ز عطار بر آمد
- رشکست بتان را ز بناگوش و خط او
- 5 گویند که بر برگ گلشن خار بر آمد
- آن مایه بدانید که ایزد نظری کرد
- 6 تا سوسن و شمشاد ز گلزار بر آمد
- وان شب که مرا بود به خلوت بر او بار
- 7 پیش از شب من صبح ز کهسار بر آمد

- ما همه راه لب آن دلبر یغما زنیم
- 1 شکرِ او را به بوسه هر شبی یغما زنیم
- هم توان از دو لبش شکر زدن یغما ولیک
- 2 هر شبی راه لب آن دلبر یغما زنیم
- ما چو وامق او چو عذرا ما چو رامین او چو ویس
- 3 رطل زبید در چنین حالی اگر صها زنیم
- شخص رامین وار هر شب در بر ویس افکنیم
- 4 بوسه وامق وار هر دم بر لب عذرا زنیم
- بر به خفتن گاه صحبت در بر ما افکند
- 5 لب به بوسه گاه عشرت بر لب او ما زنیم
- خوش بدست امروز و دی با آن نگارین عیش ما
- 6 خوشتر از امروز و دی فردا و پس فردا زنیم
- گر وصال او به جور از ما ستاند روزگار
- 7 دست در عدل غیاث الدین والدنیا زنیم

- فراق آمد کنون از وصل بر خوردار چون باشم ؟
- 1 جدا گردید یار از من جدا از یار چون باشم ؟
- به چشم ار نیستم گنج عقیق و لؤلؤ و گوهر
- 2 عقیق افشان و گوهر بیز و لؤلؤ بار چون باشم ؟
- کسی کو بست خواب من در آب افکند پنداری
- 3 چو خوابم شد تبه در آب جز بیدار چون باشم ؟
- بت من هست دلداری و زود آزار و من دایم
- 4 دل آزرده ز عشق یار زود آزار چون باشم ؟
- دهانش نیم دینار است و دینار است روی من
- 5 چو از دینار بی بهرم به رخ دینار چون باشم ؟
- ز بی خوابی همی خوانم به عمدا این غزل هر دم
- 6 همه شب مردمان در خواب و من بیدار چون باشم ؟

POEM 3.2**Ghazal 246**

- 1 تا کی ز تو من عذاب بینم ؟ گر صلح کنی صواب بینم
- 2 شبگیر ز خوابِ سُست خیزم آن شب کہ ترا بہ خواب بینم
- 3 یادِ تو خورم بہ ساتگینی جائی کہ شرابِ ناب بینم
- 4 امشب چہ بود کہ حاضر آئی ؟ تا من بہ شبِ آفتاب بینم
- 5 تا کی ز غمِ فراقِ رویت
- 5 جان و دلِ خود کباب بینم ؟

- ای مسلمانان ندانم چاره دل چون کنم
 1 یا مگر سودای عشقِ او ز سر بیرون کنم
 عاشقی را دوست دارم عاشقان را دوست تر
 2 صد هزاران دل برای عاشقی پر خون کنم
 سوختم در عاشقی تا ساختم با عاشقان
 3 عاجزم در کارِ خود یا رب ندانم چون کنم
 آتشی دارم درین دل گر شراری بر زخم
 4 آبِ دریاها بسوزم عالمی هامون کنم
 آبِ دریاها بسوزد کوه‌ها هامون شود
 5 من ز دیده خون بیارم آبها افزون کنم
 مسکنِ من در بیابان مونسِ من آهوان
 6 هرکجا من نی زخم از خونِ دل جیحون کنم
 گر شبی خود طوق گردد دستِ من در گردنش
 7 طوقِ فرمان را چو مه در گردنِ گردون کنم

POEM 3.4**Ghazal 187**

- 1 آبِ چشمِ قطرهٔ خون بود دوش بر من از عشقت شبیخون بود دوش
- 2 در کنار از دیده جیحون بود دوش در دل از عشقِ تو دوزخ می نمود
- 3 عاشق از عشقِ تو قارون بود دوش ای توانگر همچو قارون از جمال
- 4 مونسِ من ماهِ گردون بود دوش ای به رخ ماهِ زمین بی روی تو
- 5 کز شمارِ عمرِ بیرون بود دوش بی تو دوش از عمرِ نشمردم همی
- چون شبِ دوشین شبی هر گز مباد
- 6 کز همه شبها غم افزون بود دوش

POEM 3.5

Ghazal 259

- تا ما به سرِ کوی تو آرام گرفتیم
- 1 اندر صفِ دلسوختگان، نام گرفتیم
- در آتشِ تیمارِ تو تا سوخته گشتیم
- 2 در کنجِ خرابات میِ خام گرفتیم
- از مدرسه و صومعه کردیم کناره
- 3 در میکده و مصطبه آرام گرفتیم
- خال و کلهِ تو صنما دانه و دام است
- 4 ما در طلبِ دانه ره دام گرفتیم
- یکچند به آسایش وصلِ تو به هروقت
- 5 از بادهِ آسوده همی جام گرفتیم
- امروز چو از صحبتِ ما گشت بریده
- 6 این نیز هم از صحبتِ ایام گرفتیم

- دلم بردی و جان بر کار داری
 1 تو خود جای دگر بازار داری
 نباشد عاشقت هر گز چو من کس
 2 اگر چه عاشقان بسیار داری
 ز رنج غیرت بیمار باشم
 3 چو تو با دیگران دیدار داری
 عزیزت خوانم ای جان جهانم
 4 ازان است این چنینم خوار داری ؟
 کسی کو عاشق روی تو باشد
 5 سزد او را نزار و زار داری ؟
 دو چشم هر شبی تا بامدادان
 6 ز هجر خویشتن بیدار داری
 شدم مهجور و رنجور تو زیراك
 7 تو خوی عالم غدار داری
 ترا دارم عزیز ای ماه چون گل
 8 چرا بی قیمتم چون خار داری ؟
 نگر تا کی مرا در داغ هجران
 9 لبی خشك و دلی پُر نار داری

- تو خود تنها جهان را می بسوزی
- 10 چرا بر خود بلا را یار داری
- یکی رحمی برین عاشق کن ار هیچ
- 11 امیدِ رحمت از جبار داری
- سنائی را چنان باید کزین پس
- 12 ز وصلِ خویش برخوردار داری

- ای یوسفِ ایام ز عشقِ تو سنائی
 1 مانده یعقوب شد از دردِ جدائی
 تا چند به سوی دلِ عشاقِ چو خورشید
 2 هر روز به رنگِ دگر از پرده بر آئی
 گاهی رخِ تو سجده برد مشتیِ دون را
 3 که باز کند زلفِ تو دعویِ خدائی
 با خوی تو در کوی تو از دیده روا نیست
 4 کس را بگذشتن ز سرِ حدِ گدائی
 در وصلِ تو با خوی تو از روی خرد نیست
 5 جان را ز خمِ زلفِ تو امیدِ رهائی
 پس بوالعجب آسائی و زین بوالعجبی بس
 6 کاندَر همه تن کس بنداند که کجائی
 پس نادره کرداری وین نادره ای بس
 7 کانِ همه ای و همه جویان که کرائی
 از ما چه شوی پنهان کاندَر رهِ توحید
 8 ما جمله توایم ای پسرِ خوب و تو مائی
 آنجا که توئی من نتوانم که نباشم
 9 وینجا که منم ماند تو دانم که نیائی

- صحبتِ معشوق انتظار نیرزد
- 1 بوی گل و لاله زخمِ خار نیرزد
- وصل نخواهم که هجر قاعده اوست
- 2 خوردنِ می محنتِ خمار نیرزد
- زانسوی دریای عشق گر همه سودست
- 3 آن همه سود آفتِ گذار نیرزد
- این دو سه روز غمِ وصال و فراق
- 4 این همه آشوب و کار و بار نیرزد
- روز شود در شمارم از غمِ جانان
- 5 خود عملِ عاشقی شمار نیرزد

- چه رنگهاست که آن شوخ دیده نامیزد
- 1 که تا مگر دلم از صحبتش پرهیزد
- گهی ز طیره گری نکته ای در اندازد
- 2 گهی به بوالعجبی فتنه ای بر انگیزد
- به هیچ وقت به بازی کرشمه ای نکند
- 3 که صد هزار دل از غمزه در نیاویزد
- گهی کزو به نفورم بر من آید زود
- 4 گهش چو خوانم با من به قصد بستیزد
- خبر ندارد از آن کز بلاش نگریم
- 5 که هیچ تشنه ز آب حیات نگریزد
- هزار شربت زهرار ز دست او بخورم
- 6 ز عشق نعره "هل من مزید" بر خیزد
- نه از غمست که چشم همی ز راه مژه
- 7 هزار دریا پالونه وار می بیزد
- ز بهر خصم همی سرمه سازد از دیده
- 8 چو دود یافت ز بهر سنائی آمیزد
- به هرکه مردم چشم نگه کند جز از او
- 9 جنایتی شمرد آب ازان سبب ریزد
- جواب آن غزل خواجه بو سعید است این
- 10 "مرا دلیست که با عافیت نیامیزد"

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | در بند چه چیزی و کجائی | ای پیشه تو جفا نمائی |
| 2 | گر زانکه به مردمی نیائی | بفرست خیال خویش يك شب |
| 3 | دست اولین مکن دغانی | در باختن قمار با دوست |
| 4 | چون با تو فتادم آشنائی | بیگانگی ای نگار بگذار |
| 5 | آخر نه که از برم جدائی | دانم که تو نه حریفی و من |
| 6 | نادیده به وصل روشنائی | تاریکی هجر چند بینم |
| 7 | بازارِ روای پارسائی | ای حسنِ خوشِ تو کرده کاسد |
| 8 | اندیشه مردمِ ریائی | وی روی کشِ تو کرده فاسد |
| 9 | دلدار مرا تو ناسزائی | بی جان بادا هرانکه گوید |
| | زین بیش مکن جفا و بیداد | |
| 10 | بر عاشقِ خویشتن سنائی | |

POEM 5.1

Ghazal 373

- 1 کودکی داشتم خراباتی می کش و کمزن و خرافاتی
- 2 پارسا شد ز بخت و دولتِ من پارسائی شگرف و طاماتی
- 3 شیوهٔ خمر و قمر و زمر مدام صفتی بود مر وُرا ذاتی
- 4 آنکه " والتین " ز بر ندانستی همچو بوالخیر گشت هیهاتی
- 5 خوانده از بر همیشه چون "الحمد" عددِ سورهٔ لباساتی،
- 6 گوید امروز بر من از سرِ زهد مِثَل و نکته و اشاراتی
- 7 دوش گفتم وُرا که ای دل و جان مر مرا مایهٔ مباهاتی
- 8 گر چه مستور پارسا شده ای و اصلِ هر گونهٔ کراماتی،
- 9 گر یکی بوسه خواهم از تو دهی؟ گفت " لا والله ای خراباتی"
- ای سنائی کما تُریدُ خوشست
- 10 دل به قسمت بنه کما یاتی

POEM 5.2**Ghazal 375**

- 1 غایه بر عاج بر آمیختی مورچه از ماه بر انگیختی
- 2 برگلِ سرخِ ای صنمِ دلربای رغمِ مرا مشکِ سیّهِ بیختی
- 3 روزِ فروزنده به رأی و مرا با شبِ تاریکِ بر انگیختی
- 4 اشک و رخِ من چو عقیق و زرست تا شبه از سیم در آویختی
- 5 بر دلِ من نردِ جفا باختی بر سرِ من گردِ بلا بیختی
- صبرِ سنائی ز دلش برده ای
- 6 تا که دلش بردی و بُگریختی

- بر مه از عنبر همی معشوقِ من چنبر کند
 1 هیچکس دیدی که بر مه چنبر از عنبر کند
 که ز مشکِ سوده نقش آرد همی بر آفتاب
 2 که عبیرِ بیخته بر لالهٔ احمر کند
 گردِ زنگارش پدید آمد همی بر برگِ گل
 3 ترسم امسالش بنفشه از سمن سر بر کند
 ای دریغا آن پری رو از نهیبِ چشمِ بد
 4 سوسنِ آزاده را در زیرِ سیسنبه کند
 هرکه دید آن خطِ نورسته بدان یاقوتِ سرخ
 5 عاجز آید گر صفاتِ رنگِ نیلوفر کند
 خیز تا یک چند بر دیدارِ او باده خوریم
 6 پیش از آن کش روزگارِ بی وفا کیفر کند
 مهره بازی دارد اندر لب که همچون بوالعجب
 7 که عقیقِ کانی و گه دُر و گه شکر کند
 چشمِ جان آهنجِ دل الفنجِ جادو بندِ او
 8 جادوئی داند مگر کز جزعِ من عبهر کند
 آفرین بادا بر آن روئی که گر بیند پری
 9 بی گمان از رشکِ رویش خاک را بستر کند
 اینچنین دلبر که گفتم در صفاتِ عشقِ من
 10 که دو چشم پر ز آب و گه رُخم پُر زر کند

- گاه چون عودم بسوزد که گدازد چون شکر
 11 گه چو زیر چنگم اندر چنگِ رامشگر کند
 گه کند بر من جهان همچون دهانِ خویش تنگ
 12 گه تنم چون موی خویش آن لاله رخ لاغر کند
 گاه چون ذره نشاند مرا اندر هوا
 13 گه رُخَم از اشکِ چشم زعفران تر کند
 ای مسلمانان فغان زان دلربای مستحیل
 14 کو جهان بر جانِ من چون سدِ اسکندر کند

POEM 5.4

Ghazal 193

- 1 چون نهی زلفِ تافته بر گوش چون نهی جعدِ بافته بر دوش ،
- 2 از دلِ من رمیده گردد صبر وز تنِ من پریده گردد هوش
- 3 نه عجب گر خروشِ من بفزود تا شد آن عارضِ تو غالیه پوش :
- 4 ماه در آسمان سیاه شود خلقِ عالم بر آورند خروش
- 5 تا به وقتِ سپیده دم يك دم نَغْنُودم در انتظارِ تو دوش
- 6 گاه بودم به ره فکنده دو چشم گاه بودم به در نهاده دو گوش
- 7 خارِ من گردد از وصالِ تو گل
زهرِ من گردد از جمالِ تو نوش

- چون سخنگویی از آن لب لطف باری ای پسر
- 1 پس به شوخی لب چرا خاموش داری ای پسر
در ره عشق تو مارا یار و مونس گفت تست
 - 2 گفتمی از آن از تو می خواهیم یاری ای پسر
دیر زی در شادکامی کز اثرهای لطیف
 - 3 مونس عقلی و جان را غمگساری ای پسر
تلخ گردد عیش شیرین بر بُتان قندهار
 - 4 چون به گاه بذله زان لب لطف باری ای پسر
بامداد از رشك دامن را کند خورشید چاک
 - 5 روی رخشان از گریبان چون بر آری ای پسر
سر به سان سایه زان بر خاک دارم پیش تو
 - 6 کز رخ و زلف آفتاب و سایه داری ای پسر
سر کشان سر بر خط فرمان من بنهند باش
 - 7 تا به گرد مه خط مشکین بر آری ای پسر
ارنبودی ماه رخسار تو تابان زیر زلف
 - 8 با سر زلف تو بودی دهر تاری ای پسر
کودکی کانرا به معنی در خم چوگان زلف
 - 9 همچو گوئی روز و شب گردان نداری ای پسر

- شد گرفتارِ سرِ زلفِ کمندآسای تو
- 10 روزِ دعویٰ گردنِ مردانِ کاری ای پسر
- شد شکارِ چشمِ پرِ دستانِ روبه بازِ تو
- 11 صد هزارانِ جانِ شیرانِ شکاری ای پسر
- ماهِ روی تو چو برگِ گل به باغِ دلبری
- 12 شد شکفته بر نهالِ کامکاری ای پسر
- بس دلا کز خرمی بی برگ شد زان برگِ گل
- 13 آه اگر بر برگِ گل شمشاد کاری ای پسر
- کی شدندی عالمی در عشقِ تو یعقوب وار
- 14 گر نه از یوسف جهان را یادگاری ای پسر؟
- چون سنائی را به عالم فخر و ام از عشقِ تست
- 15 ننگ و عار از وُصلتِ او چه داری ای پسر؟

- ای لعبتِ صافی صفات ای خوشتر از آبِ حیات
 1 هستی درین آخرِ زمان این منکران را معجزات
 هم دیده داری هم قدم هم نور داری هم ظلم
 2 در هزل و جد ای محتشم هم کعبه گردی هم منات
 حسنِ ترا بینم فزون خلقِ ترا بینم زبون
 3 چون آمد از جنت برون چون تو نگاری بی برات ؟
 در نارم از گلزارِ تو بیزارم از آزارِ تو
 4 يك دیدن از دیدارِ تو خوشتر ز کلِ کاینات
 هر که که بُگشائی دهن گردد جهان پر نسترن
 5 بر تو ثنا گوید چو من ریگ و مطرُ سنگ و نبات
 عالی چو کعبه کوی تو نه خاکپای روی تو
 6 بر دولبِ خوشبوی تو جان را بدل دارد حیات
 برهانِ این نوشین لبَت چون روز گر داند شبت
 7 وان خالها بر غبغت تابان چو از گردون بنات
 ما را به لب دعوت کنی بر ما سخن حجت کنی
 8 وقتی که جان غارت کنی چون صوفیان در ده صلات
 باز از بکشتی عاجزی بنمای از لب معجزی
 9 چون از عزی نبود عزی لا را بزن بر روی لات

POEM 6.1**(CONTINUED)****Ghazal 22**

- غمهات بر ما جمله شد بغداد همچون حِلّه شد
 10 يك ديده اينجا دجله شد يك ديده آنجا شد فُرات
 ای چون مَلَك ای چون پری بر سامری کن ساحری
 11 تا بر تو خوانم يك سرى « الباقيات الصالحات »
 جانِ سنائی مر ترا از وی حذر کردن چرا ؟
 12 از وی گذر نبود ترا هم در حیات و هم ممات

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | چشمِ بد دور خه به نام ایزد | خوبت آراست ای غلام ایزد |
| 2 | هیچ صورت چو تو تمام ایزد | نافرید و نیاورید به حسن |
| 3 | بهم آورد صبح و شام ایزد | در جهانِ جمالت از رخ و زلف |
| 4 | خاکِ کوی تو گام گام ایزد | سببِ آبروی جانها کرد |
| 5 | صورتِ لطف را قوام ایزد | از پیِ عزّتِ جمالِ تو داد |
| 6 | گردنان را به زیرِ وام ایزد | از پیِ منتِ وجودِ تو کرد |
| 7 | آدمی را دمِ دوام ایزد | از پیِ خدمتِ رکابِ تو داد |
| 8 | سرمه چشمِ خاص و عام ایزد | کرد گردِ سُمِ ستورِ رهِت |
| 9 | گوید آن رخ نگر کدام ایزد | ز اهرمن گر بپرسی ایزد کیست |
| 10 | زده بر جامِ جانت جام ایزد | ای به هردم شرابِ آدمِ خوار |
| 11 | زان مدامت دهد مدام ایزد | سرِ دامِ خودی نداری هیچ |
| 12 | خالِ تو دانه زلف دام ایزد | وز برای شکارِ دلها ساخت |
| 13 | در و دیوار و صحن و بام ایزد | آنچنان کعبه ای که هست ترا |
| 14 | از تو از نیکوئی و کام ایزد | بده انصاف هیچ وا نگرفت |
| 15 | خود همی گویدت به نام ایزد | خوبت آراسته است طرفه تر آنک |
| | تو مقیمی از آن سنائی را | |
| 16 | داد بر در گهت مقام ایزد | |

- 1 آلا ای نقشِ کشمیری آلا ای حورِ خرگاهی
 به دل سنگی به بر سیمی به قد سزوی به رخ ماهی
 2 شهِ خوبانِ آفاقی به خوبی در جهان طاقی
 به لب درمانِ عشّاقی به رخ خورشیدِ خرگاهی
 3 خوش و کش و طربناکی شگرف و چُست و چالاکی
 عیار و رند و ناپاکی ظریف و خوب و دلخواهی
 4 ز بهرِ چشمِ تو نرگس همی پویم به هر مجلس
 ندیدم در غمت مونس به جز بادِ سحرگاهی
 5 مرا ای لعبتِ شیرین از آن داری همی غمگین
 که از حالِ منِ مسکین دلت را نیست آگاهی
 6 چو بی آن روی چون لاله بگیریم زار چون ژاله
 کنم پر نوحه و ناله جهان از ماه تا ماهی
 7 گهی چهره بیارائی گهی طره بپیرائی
 ز بس خوبی و زیبائی جمالِ لشکرِ شاهی

- تا نگارِ من ز محفل پای در محمل نهاد
- 1 داغِ حسرتِ عاشقان را سر به سر بر دل نهاد
- دلبران بیدل شدند زانگه که او بر بست بار
- 2 عاشقان دادند جان چون پای در محمل نهاد
- روزِ من چون تیره زلفش گشت از هجرانِ او
- 3 چون بدیدم کان غلامش رخت بر بازل نهاد
- زان جمالِ همچو ماهش هرچه بود از تیره شب
- 4 شد هزیمت چون نگارم رخ سوی منزل نهاد
- زابِ چشمِ عاشقان آن راه شد پر آب و گل
- 5 تا به منزل نارمید او گامِ خود در گل نهاد
- راهِ او پر گل همی شد کز فراقِ خود همی
- 6 در دو دیده عالمی از عشقِ خود پلپل نهاد
- چاکر از غم دل ز مهرت بر گرفت از بهرِ آنک
- 7 با اصیل الملك خواجه اسعدِ مقبل نهاد

- ای رفیقان دوش ما را در سرائی سور بود
- 1 رفتم آنجا گرچه راهی صعب و شب دیجور بود
- دیدم اندر راه زی درگاه آن شاه بتان
- 2 هرچه اندر کل عالم عاشقی مستور بود
- از چراغ و شمع کس را یاد نامد زان سبب
- 3 کز جمال خوبرویان نور اندر نور بود
- کس نثاری کرد نتوانست اندر خورد او
- 4 زانکه اشک عاشقانش لؤلؤ منثور بود
- بوی خوش نامد به کار اندر سراسر کوی او
- 5 زانکه خاک کوی او از عنبر و کافور بود
- فرش میدانش ز رخسار و لب میخوارگان
- 6 تکیه گاه عاشقانش دیده‌های حور بود
- جویبارش را به جای آب میدیدم شراب
- 7 زیر هر شاخی هزاران عاشق مخمور بود
- ای بسا مذکور عالم کو بدو در ننگریست
- 8 ای بسا درویش دل ریشا که او مذکور بود
- هرکه از وی بود ترسان او بدو نزدیک شد
- 9 وانکه از گستاخیش نزدیک تر او دور بود

- صد هزاران همچو موسی خیره بود اندر رهش
- 10 زانکه هر سنگی در آن ره بر مثالِ طور بود
- هر کرا توقیع دادند از جمال و از جلال
- 11 " لن ترانی" بر سرِ توقیعِ آن منشور بود
- های های عاشقان با هوی هوی صادقان
- 12 کس ندانستی که ماتم بود آن یا سور بود
- مر مرا ره داد دربان دیگران را منع کرد
- 13 زانکه نامِ من رهی در عاشقی مشهور بود
- چون در آنشب شخصِ روحم نزدِ آنحضرت رسید
- 14 صورتِ هستی ندیدم نقشِ من مقهور بود
- مصحفی دیدم گرفته آن بت اندر دستِ راست
- 15 خطِ آن از هستِ ما وز نفی لا مسطور بود
- چون در آن مصحف نظر کردم سراسر خطِ آن
- 16 رمزهای مجلسِ محمود بن منصور بود

- ای تماشاگه جانها صورت زیبای تو
 1 وی کلاه فرق مردان پای تابه پای تو
 چرخ گردان در طواف خانه تمکین تو
 2 عقل پر احسنت گوی حکمت بُرنای تو
 چون خجل کردی دو عالم را پدید آمد ز رشک
 3 کحل " ما زاعُ البصر " در دیده بینای تو
 پاسبانان در و بام توآند اجرام چرخ
 4 تایبان اندر زمین هستند شرع آرای تو
 خلد را نور جمال از روی جان افروز تست
 5 حور را عطر عذار از موی عنبرسای تو
 کو یکی سلطان درین ایوان که او همتخت تست
 6 کو یکی رستم درین میدان که او همتای تو
 کی فتد در خاک هنگام شفاعت گفت تو
 7 ای ندیده بر زمین کس سایه بالای تو
 در شب معراج همراهت نبودى جبرئیل
 8 گر بُراق او نبودى همت والای تو
 تا برونِت آورد یزدان از نگارستان غیب
 9 هر دو عالم کرد در حینِ رویِ سوی تو
 ای مبارزِ راکبی کز صخره تا زُهره بجست
 10 خنک زیور مرکب خوش گام رهپیمای تو

- عرش چون فردوسِ اُعلیٰ سایبانِ تختِ تست
 11 زانکه بهرِ خود ندارد سایبانِ مولای تو
- گشت سیراب از شرابِ علمِ تو خلقِ دو کون
 12 چون نگه کردیم تا لب بود پر دریای تو
- ای دریغا گر بُدندی تا بدیدندی به چشم
 13 هم خلیل و هم کلیم آن حسنِ روح افزای تو
- آن یکی از دیده کردی خدمتِ نعلینِ تو
 14 وان دگر از مژه رُفتی بی تکلفِ جای تو
- در بهشت از بهرِ خودبینی نباشد آینه
 15 آینه سیمینبران آنجا بود سیمای تو
- نیست امیدِ سنائی در مقاماتِ فزع
 16 جز کفِ بخشنده و مهرِ جهانبخشای تو

- با او دلم به مهر و مودت یگانه بود
 1 سیمرغِ عشق را دل من آشیانه بود
 بر درگهم ز جمع فرشته سپاه بود
 2 عرش مجید جاه مرا آستانه بود
 در راه من نهاد نهان دام مکر خویش
 3 آدم میان حلقه آن دام دانه بود
 می خواست تا نشانه لعنت کند مرا
 4 کرد آنچه خواست آدم خاکی بهانه بود
 بودم معلم ملکوت اندر آسمان
 5 امید من به خلد برین جاودانه بود
 هفصد هزار سال به طاعت بیوده ام
 6 وز طاعتم هزار هزاران خزانه بود
 در لوح خوانده ام که یکی لعنتی شود
 7 بودم گمان به هرکس و بر خود گمانه بود
 آدم ز خاک بود من از نور پاک او
 8 گفتم یگانه من بوم و او یگانه بود
 گفتند مالکان بنکردی تو سجده ای
 9 چون کردمی که با منش این درمیانه بود؟

- جانا بیا و تکیه به طاعتِ خود مکن
 10 کاین بیت بَهرِ بینشِ اهلِ زمانه بود
 دانستم عاقبت که به ما از قضا رسید
 11 صدچشمه آن زمان ز دو چشم روانه بود
 ای عاقلانِ عشق مرا هم گناه نیست
 12 ره یافتن به جانبشان بی رضا نه بود

POEM 7.3

Ghazal 219

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | بر سرِ خاک باد پیمودم | چند روزی درین جهان بودم |
| 2 | یک شب از آرزویش نغفودم | بدویدم بسی و دیدم رنج |
| 3 | نه یکی را به طمع بستودم | نه یکی را به خشم کردم هجو |
| 4 | جانِ پاکیزه را نیالودم | به هوا و به شهوتِ نفسی |
| 5 | رنج بر خویشتن بیفزودم | هر زمانی به طمعِ آسایش |
| 6 | رفتم و تخمِ کشته بدرودم | واخرم چون اجل فراز آمد |
| 7 | باز رستم ز رنج و آسودم | یار شد گوهرم به گوهرِ خویش |
| | من ندانم که من کجا رفتم | |
| 8 | کس نداند که من کجا رفتم | |

- دل به تحفه هر که او در منزل جانان کشد
- 1 از وجود نیستی باید که خط بر جان کشد
- در نوردد مفرش آزادگی از روی عقل
- 2 رخت بدبختی ز دل از خانه احزان کشد
- گرچه دشوار است کار عاشقی از بهر دوست
- 3 از محبت بر دل و جان رخت عشق آسان کشد
- رهروی باید که اندر راه ایمان پی نهد
- 4 تا ز دل پیمانه غم بر سر پیمان کشد
- دین و پیمان و امامت در ره ایمان یکیست
- 5 مرد کو تا فضل دین اندر ره ایمان کشد
- لشکر لا حول را بند قطیعت بگسلد
- 6 وز تفاوت بر شعاع شرع شادروان کشد
- خلق پیغمبر کجا تا از بزرگان عرب
- 7 جور و رنج ناسزایان از پی یزدان کشد
- صادقی باید که چون بوبکر در صدق و صواب
- 8 زخم مار و بیم دشمن از بُن دندان کشد
- یا نه چون عمر که در اسلام بعد از مصطفیٰ
- 9 از عرب لشکر ز جیحون سوی ترکستان کشد

POEM 7.4**(CONTINUED)****Ghazal 111**

- پارسائی کو کہ در محراب و مصحف بیگناه
 10 تا ز غوغا سوزشِ شمشیر چون عثمان کشد
 حیدرِ کرّار کو کاندِرِ مَصاف از بَهرِ دین
 11 در صفِ صفین ستم از لشکرِ مَروان کشد

- بر طریقِ دینِ قدم پیوسته بوذر وار زن
 1 ور زنی لافی ز شرعِ احمدِ مختار زن
 اندر ایمان همچو شهبازِ خشین مردانه باش
 2 بر عدوی دین همیشه تیغِ حیدروار زن
 گردِ گلزارِ فنا تا چند گردی ز ابلهی
 3 در سرای باقی آی و خیمه در گلزار زن
 لشکرِ کُفرست حرص و شهوت اندر تن ترا
 4 ناگهان امشب یکی بر لشکرِ کفّار زن
 حلقه درگاهِ ربّانی سحرگاهان بگیر
 5 آتشی از نورِ دل در عالمِ غدار زن
 عالمِ فانی چو طراریست دایم سخره گیر
 6 گر تو مردی يك لگد بر فرقِ این طرار زن
 بلبلی دامن همه گفتار داری کرد نه
 7 باز شو يك چند لختی چنگ در کردار زن
 جز برای دین نفّس هرگز مزین تا زنده ای
 8 چون سنائی پای سُنّت بر سرِ سیّار زن
 ای به خوابِ غفلت اندر هان و هان بیدار شو
 9 در ره معنی قدم مردانه و هشیار زن

- ساقیا می ده که جز می عشق را پدرام نیست
- 1 وین دلم را طاقتِ اندیشهِ ایام نیست
- پختهِ عشقم شرابِ خام خواهی زان کجا
- 2 سازگارِ پخته جانا جز شرابِ خام نیست
- با فلک آسایش و آرام چون باشد ترا
- 3 چون فلک را در نهاد آسایش و آرام نیست
- عشق در ظاهر حرامست از بیِ نامحرمان
- 4 زانکه هر بیگانه ای شایسته این نام نیست
- خوردنِ می نهی شد زان نیز در ایامِ ما
- 5 کاندرین ایام هر دستی سزای جام نیست
- تا نیفتد بر امیدِ عشق در دامِ هوی
- 6 کاین رهِ خاصست اندر وی مَجالِ عام نیست
- هست خاص و عام نی نزدیکِ هر فرزانه ای
- 7 دانهِ دامِ هوی جز جامِ جان انجام نیست
- جاهلان را در چراگه دام هست و دانه نی
- 8 عاشقان را باز در ره دانه هست و دام نیست

- آلا ای ساقیِ دلبر مدار از می تهی دستم
 1 که من دل را دگر باره به دامِ عشق بر بستم
 مرا فصلِ بهارِ نو به روی آورد کارِ نو
 2 دلم پُر بود یارِ نو بشد کارِ من از دستم
 اگر چه دل به نادانی به او دادم به آسانی
 3 ندارم زان پشیمانی که با او مهر پیوستم
 چو روی خوبِ او دیدم ز خوبان مهر بُریدم
 4 ز جَورَش پرده پدُریدم ز عشقش توبه پشُکستم
 چو باری زین هوس دوری چو من دانم نه رنجوری
 5 به من ده باده سوری مگر یکره کنی مستم
 کنون از باده پیمودن نخواهم يك دم آسودن
 6 که نتوان جز چنین بودن درین سودا که من هستم

- مسلم کن دل از هستی مسلم
- 1 دمادم کیش قدح اینجا دمادم
- نه زان می ها که زان مستی فزاید
- 2 ازان می ها که از جان کم کند غم
- حریفانت همه یک رنگ و دلشاد
- 3 چه بسطامی و ابراهیم ادهم
- جُنید و شبلی و معروفِ کرخی
- 4 حبیب و آدم و عیسیِ مریم
- می شوقِ ملکِ نوش از حقیقت
- 5 که تا گردد دل و جانِ تو خرم

POEM 8.5

Ghazal 269

- خیز تا دامن ز چرخِ هفتمین برتر کشیم
- 1 هفت کشور را به دورِ ساغری اندر کشیم
- هفت گردون مختصر باشد به پیشِ مردِ عشق
- 2 شاید از دامن ز کونِ مختصر برتر کشیم
- نفسِ ما خصمی عظیم اندر نهادِ راهِ ماست
- 3 غزوِ اکبر باشد از در روی او خنجر کشیم
- پای ما در دامِ عشقِ خوبرویان بسته شد
- 4 زینِ قَبَلِ درد و بلای عاشقی بر سر کشیم
- قصرِ قیصر و انِ کسری گر نباشد گو مباش
- 5 ما به مردی حلقه در گوشِ دو صد قیصر کشیم
- گر نشیند گردِ کوی دوست بر رخسارِ ما
- 6 خطِ عَزَل از جان و دل بر مشک و بر عنبر کشیم
- این همه تر دامن را خشک بادا دست و پا
- 7 خیز تا خطِ فنا گردِ سنائی در کشیم

POEM 8.5**(CONTINUED)****Ghazal 269**

در کلاه او اگر پشیمست آتش در زنیم

8

عقل و هوش خویشتن يك دم به مستی در کشیم

POEM 9.1

Ghazal 267

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | وانده روز نامده نبریم | خیز تا می خوریم و غم نخوریم |
| 2 | رادمردی و مردمی سپریم | تا توانیم کرد با همه کس |
| 3 | پرده راز دشمنان ندریم | قصد آزار دوستان نکنیم |
| 4 | زانچه نا گفتنیست در گذریم | نشویم آنچه ناشودنیست |
| 5 | عیب خود بر خودی همی شمیریم | ما که خواهیم جست عیب کسان |
| 6 | ما نه مردان عاقبت نگریم | ای که گفتی که عاقبت بنگر |
| 7 | عاشق دلبران سیمبریم | بنده نیکوان لاله رخیم |
| 8 | روز هر سو به گلخنی دگریم | شب نباشیم جز به مصطبه ها |
| 9 | همه از ما به اند و ما بتیریم | می کشان و مقامران دغا |
| 10 | به گه باختن به جو نخریم | پاکبازان هر دو عالم را |
| 11 | دشمن آل مادر و پدریم | دوستدار نگار و سرخ می ایم |
| | پدران را خدای مزد دهد | |
| 12 | نه چو ما کس که نا خلف پسیریم | |

POEM 9.2

Ghazal 231

- 1 چو دانستم که گردنده ست عالم
 نیاید مرد را بنیادِ محکم
 2 پس آن بهتر که ما در وی مقیم
 شبان و روز با هم مست و خرم
 3 مرا زان چه که چونان گفت ابلیس
 مرا زان چه که چونین کرد آدم
 4 تو گوئی می مخور من میخورم می
 تو گوئی کم وزن من میزنم کم
 5 فتادی تو به کعبه من به خاور
 آلا تا چند ازین دوری و درهم
 6 من و خورشید و معشوق و می و لعل
 تو و رکن و مقام و آبِ زمزم
 7 ترا کردم مسلم روضه و خلد
 مسلم کن مرا باری جهنم
 8 به فردوس ازچه طاعت شد سگِ کُهِف
 به دوزخ از چه عصیان رفت بلعم
 9 تو گر هستی چو بلعم در عبادت
 من آخر از سگی کمتر نیم هم

POEM 9.2**(CONTINUED)****Ghazal 231**

- سرانجامِ من و تو روزِ محشر
 10 ندانم چون بود و الله اعلم
 سخن گوئی تو همواره ز اسلام
 11 همه اسلامِ تو صلوات و سلم
 زدن در کوی معنی دم نیاری
 12 همه پیرامنِ دعوی زنی دم

POEM 9.3**Ghazal 288**

- ای به راه عشقِ خوبان گام بر می خوار زن
 1 نورِ معنی را ز دعوی در میانِ زنار زن
 بر سرِ کوی خرابات از تنِ معشوقِ مست
 2 صد هزاران بوسه بر خاکِ درِ خمار زن
 قیل و قالِ لا یجوز از کوی دل بیرون گذار
 3 بر درِ همت ز هستی پس قوی مسمار زن
 تا توئی با تو نیائی خویشتن رنجه مدار
 4 بر درِ نادیده معنی خیمه اسرار زن
 نوشِ شهد از پیشِ آن در زهرِ قاتل بار زن
 5 طمع از روی حقیقت بیشِ زهرِ مار زن
 چون به نامحرم رسی بدروز و کافر رنگ باش
 6 بر طرازِ رنگِ ظاهر نام را طرار زن

- معشوقِ مرا ره قلندر زد
 1 زان راه به جانم آتش اندر زد
 که رفت ره صلاحِ دینداری
 2 که راهِ مُقامِ رانِ لنگر زد
 رندی در زهد و کفر در ایمان
 3 ظلمت در نور و خیر در شر زد
 خمیده چو حلقه گردِ قدِ من
 4 وانگاه مرا چو حلقه بر در زد
 چون سوخت مرا بر آتشِ دوزخ
 5 در آتشِ دوزخ آبِ کوثر زد
 در صومعه پای کوفت از مستی
 6 ابدال ز عشق دست بر سر زد
 با آبِ عنب به صومعه در شد
 7 در مغکده آبِ رز بر آذر زد
 گر من نه به کامِ خویشم او باری
 8 با آنکه دلم نخواست خوشتر زد
 من شاد شوم گر او به ما گوید
 9 دستی به مرادِ خویشتن بر زد

- شور در شهر فکند آن بت زتار پرست
- 1 چون خرامان ز خرابات برون آمد مست
- پرده شرم دریده قدح می در کف
- 2 شربت خمر چشیده علم کفر به دست
- شده بیرون ز در نیستی و از هستی خویش
- 3 نیست حاصل شود آنرا که برون شد از هست
- چون بُتست آن بت قلاش دل رهبان کیش
- 4 که به شمشیر جفا جز دل عشاق نخست
- اندر آن وقت که جاسوس جمال رخ او
- 5 از پس پرده پندار و هوی بیرون جست
- هیچ ابدال ندیدی که درو در نگریست
- 6 که در آن ساعت زتار چهل گرد نبست
- گاه در خاک خرابات به جان باز نهاد
- 7 خاکئی را که ازین خاک شود خاک پرست
- بر در کعبه طامات چه لبیک ز نیم
- 8 که به بتخانه نیابیم همی جای نشست

POEM 10.1

Ghazal 361

- گر به کوی عاشقی با ما هم از يك خانه ای
 1 با همه کس آشنا با ما چرا بیگانه ای
 ما چو اندر عشق تو یکرویه چون آینه ایم
 2 تو چرا در دوستی با ما دو سر چون شانه ای
 شمع خود خوانی همی ما را و ما در پیش تو
 3 پس ترا پروای جان از چیست گر پروانه ای
 جز به عمری در ره ما راست نتوان رفت از آنک
 4 همچو فرزین کج روی در راه نا فرزانه ای
 عاشقی از بند عقل و عافیت جستن بود
 5 گر چنینی عاشقی و نیستی دیوانه ای
 زان ز وصل ما نداری يك دم آسایش که تو
 6 روز و شب سودای خود رانی دمی ما را نه ای
 یارت ای بُت صدر دارد زان عزیزست و تو زان
 7 در لگدکوب همه خلقی که بر اُستانه ای
 هر کجا صحراست گرم و روشنست از آفتاب
 8 تو از آن افسرده ماندستی که اندر خانه ای
 تو برای ما به گردِ دام ما گردی و لیک
 9 دام ما را دانه بیشست و تو مردِ دانه ای
 بر خودی عاشق نه بر ما ای سنائی بهر آنک
 10 روز و شب مردِ فسون و شعبده و افسانه ای

POEM 10.2

Ghazal 11

- ساقیا دانی که مخموریم در ده جام را
 1 ساعتی آرام ده این عمر بی آرام را
 میر مجلس چون تو باشی با جماعت در نگر
 2 خام در ده پخته را و پخته در ده خام را
 قالب فرزند آدم از را منزل شدست
 3 انده پیشی و بیشی تیره کرد ایام را
 نه بهشت از ما تهی گردد نه دوزخ پر شود
 4 ساقیا در ده شراب ارغوانی فام را
 قیل و قال بایزید و شبلی و کرخی چه سود
 5 کار کار خویش دان اندر نور این نام را
 تا زمانی ما برون از خاک آدم دم زنیم
 6 ننگ و نامی نیست بر ما هیچ خاص و عام را

POEM 10.3

Ghazal 263

- 1 ما فوطه و فوطه پوش دیدیم تسبیحِ مرانیان شنیدیم
- 2 بر مسندِ زاهدان گذشتیم در عالمِ عالمان دویدیم
- 3 هم ساکنِ خانقاه بودیم هم خرقة صوفیان دریدیم
- 4 هم محنتِ قال و قیل بردیم هم شربتِ طلیسان چشیدیم
- 5 از این همه جز نشاطِ بازار رنگی به حقیقتی ندیدیم
- 6 بگزیدیم یاری از خرابات با او به مراد آرمیدیم
- 7 دل بر غمِ روی او فکندیم سر بر خطِ رای او کشیدیم
- او نیست کسی و ما نه بس کس
- 8 زمین روی به یک دگر سریدیم

POEM 10.4

Ghazal 63

- ای سنائی خواجگی با عشقِ جانان شرط نیست
- 1 جان به تیرِ عشق خسته دل به کیوان شرط نیست
- ربّ اَرنی بر زبان راندن چو موسی وقتِ شوق
- 2 پس به دل گفتن انا اَلْاَعْلٰی چو هامان شرط نیست
- از پیِ عشقِ بتان مردانگی باید نمود
- 3 گر چو زن بی همّتی پس لافِ مردان شرط نیست
- چون انا الله در بیابانِ هُدی بشنیده ای
- 4 پس هراسیدن ز چوبی همچو ثعبان شرط نیست
- از پیِ مردانگی خواهی که در میدان شوی
- 5 صف کشیدن گردِ او بی گوی و چوگان شرط نیست
- چون جمالِ یوسفی غایب شده ست از پیشِ تو
- 6 پس نشستنِ ایمن اندر شهرِ کنعان شرط نیست
- ور همی دعوی کنی گوئی که لی صبرٌ جمیل
- 7 پس فغان و گریه اندر بیتِ احزان شرط نیست
- چون همی دانی که منزلگاهِ حق جز عرش نیست
- 8 پس مهار اُشتر کشیدن در بیابان شرط نیست

- باز تابی در ده آن زلفینِ عالم سوز را
 1 باز آبی بر زن آن روی جهان افروز را
 باز بر عشاقِ صوفی طبعِ صافی جان گمار
 2 آن دو صفِ جادوی شوخِ دلبرِ جان دوز را
 باز بیرون تاز در میدانِ عقل و عافیت
 3 آن سیه پوشانِ کفر انگیزِ ایمان سوز را
 سر بر آوردند مشتی گوشه گشته چون کمان
 4 باز در کار آر نوكِ ناكِ کین توز را
 روزها چون عمرِ بدخواه تو کوتاهی گرفت
 5 پاره ای از زلف کم کن مایه ای ده روز را
 آینه بر گیر و بنگر گر تماشا بایدت
 6 در میانِ روی نرگس بوستان افروز را
 لب ز هم بر دار يك دم تا هم اندر تیر ماه
 7 آسمان در پیشت اندر جُل کشد نوروز را
 نوگرفتن را به بوسی بسته گردان بهر آنك
 8 دانه دادن شرط باشد مرغِ نو آموز را
 بر شکن دامِ سنائی زان دو تا بادام از آنك
 9 دام را بادامِ تو چون سنگ باشد گوز را

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CHAPTER FIVE

CATEGORIES, ICONOGRAPHY, COMMENTARY, AND CONCLUSIONS

The generic or topical categories into which I have grouped this selection of poems of Sanā'i are fluid and not fixed, illustrative and instructive rather than absolute. They are intended to provide a framework for exegesis of the individual poems, to suggest possibilities about the likely audience or interpretation of the poem, and to illustrate the semiotic range and valency of various common topoi and tableaux that occur and re-occur in different combinations and contexts in Persian lyric poetry.

As D. Schwarz has phrased it, genre criticism is both "inductive and deductive":

When we speak of a text in terms of genre, we are providing a categorical explanation that cannot be fully represented as a literal fact, but rather as an 'as if' hypothesis to which we refer as we note similarities and differences between the literary work under discussion and the hypothetical category....generic criticism seeks to define works as instances or images of a paradigm, even as it seeks to discover distinctions from that paradigm by looking at a text's formal patterns and comparing it with other not-dissimilar works.¹

There are various ways to categorize and define genres besides thematic; they should be understood as overlapping sets and sub-sets of thematic, typological and rhetorical strategies.

¹ D. Schwarz, *The Case for a Humanistic Poetics*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 44.

Applying Austin and Searle's Speech Act theory, Fowler suggests we may wish to construct generic categories based upon the perlocutionary (didactic) or illocutionary (celebratory), etc., mood and objective of the poems, which is not so different from the Aristotelian classification of genres by epic, lyric and drama.² Though I have drawn to some extent on this view of genre, especially as regards the rhetorical objectives (homiletic, lyric, etc.) of individual poems, I have primarily classed the poems according to thematic (wine, homoeroticism, etc.) and social/functional categories (sufi initiation rituals and catechisms, panegyric poems for banquets, religious poems used in the commemoration of specific occasions, etc.). The symbols, imagery and thematics of a given genre are by no means restricted to that particular genre and often bleed into those of a related topos, scene or mood, sometimes giving rise to yet another category or sub-genre of poem altogether.³ Thus, a poem in praise of the beloved might include a line presenting a common topos of the homoerotic poems without dwelling on that theme, or perhaps from religious or mystical language, or it might briefly appeal to the topos of suffering

² A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: an Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

³ See P. Hernadi, *Beyond Genre: New Directions in Literary Classification* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), and his concept of "polycentric classification," as laid out in Chapter Five.

love, etc. As Francis Cairns remarks, "inclusion" of topoi from a variety of distinct genres in a given poem of known genre was a commonplace in Greek and Latin poetry. For example, allusions to the *komos* are found in a variety of genres of Roman elegy.⁴ This does not necessarily constitute evidence that the genre categories are artificial, were unperceived as such by the ancient authors or that no poem can ever be assigned to a single genre:

...when material from different genres occurs in the same poem, the topoi from the different genres are not intermingled, but kept separate; and material from one of the genres seems to be of greater importance than that from the other(s).⁵

But it is not only the themes and topoi of a poem that determine its genre. For example, a poem based on the thematics of suffering love might apply to a political patron, to a Sufi master, to a Sufi initiate, or to God. It might also be addressed, at least nominally so, to a singer, wine-bearer or page, if recited in the context of a divertimento at a wine symposium. In some of Sanā'i's poems a specific reading or audience may be strongly suggested by certain words, whereas in other poems there is relatively little textual evidence, even though within the context of the poem's performance, the specific application or relevance of the content would have become quite clear to the audience (see Chapter One). Zumthor, as we have seen, describes medieval

⁴ F. Cairns, *Generic Composition*, op. cit., 158.

⁵ *ibid.*

poetry as first and foremost a poetry-in-context; Cairns argues the same for classical poetry, which assumes the reader's "knowledge of the circumstances and content of the particular genre" presented, and allows the author to "exploit this knowledge to allow logical connexions and distinctions to remain implicit or be omitted altogether."⁶ Thus, while the poems can be seen as encodings of the ethos of medieval courtly chivalry, as Meisami has argued,⁷ they nevertheless encode a number of different chivalric codes, creeds and cosmologies, depending on the audience or interpretive community being addressed. For us, of course, the process of identifying the intended audience of a poem written and performed nine hundred years ago is compounded by the deliberate ambiguity and double entendre which is a fundamental animating principal of Persian poetry.

Despite the confusion which can arise from the overlap of topical and thematic elements from one genre to the next, we encounter relatively few problems in Sanā'i's ghazals (in contrast to those of *Hāfez*) with the anguished question of the unity of the genre(s). Many of Sanā'i's ghazals (as is also true of *Hāfez*) have a fairly clear narrative progression. As noted below, most of them consciously and artfully bring about closure by returning in either the last or penultimate line to

⁶ Cairns, *Generic Composition*, 6-7.

⁷ J. Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, esp. chapter one.

the theme and/or wording presented in the first line of the poem. This last-line reprise of the first-line theme might be seen as a parallel to the prosodic and formal structure of the ghazal (and *qaṣīdeh*), which begins with a line (*bayt*) rhymed in both hemistichs (*meṣra'*), followed by a number of lines which carry the rhyme only in the second hemistich.⁸ In the end, however, in the final or penultimate line (as well as sometimes in the second line), the rhyme, or an echo of it, may reappear in the first hemistich (e.g., hemistich a in line 6 below often repeats the "A" rhyme, similar to the leonine rhyme in French poetry) ringing in the conclusion of the poem:

**TABLE 3:
TYPICAL RHYME AND SYNTACTIC PATTERNING IN SANĀ'I'S GHAZALS**

<u>line #</u>	<u>hemistich a</u>	<u>hemistich b</u>
1	~ A	~ A
2	B (A)	A
3	* C	* A
4	* D	* A
5	* E	* A
6	~ E (A)	~ A
7	~ F (A)	~ A

⁸ J. C. Bürgel, "Ecstasy and Order: Two Structural Principles in the Ghazal Poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi," in *Legacy of Mediæval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn, (London and New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), 61-74, talks of "repetitive structures" in Islamic texts, specifically the structural principles of Rumi's ghazals, "the most important" of which he identifies as the *radif*. He speaks of the *radif* as a musical "basso continuo" or an axis about which Rumi's poems, like the dervishes, dance. However, since the *radif* is common to both mystical and non-mystical verse, it is unclear how this aspect of Rumi's poetry contributes specifically to the structuring of his poems. While Bürgel also notes the repetition of words within a line or within one or two consecutive lines, he does not deal with the overall structure of the poems and how they open, close and cohere as individual structures.

Alternatively, a keyword, concept or phrasing from line 1a or 1b will re-occur in line 6a or 7a; or line 7a and 7b may display a close grammatical parallelism with one another (indicated by a tilde in the diagram above), as is typical of the poetry of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'ān (to which the technical term, *saj'*, "rhymed prose" is applied). Some of the lines in the middle of the poem (those indicated, for example, by an asterisk) may sometimes apparently "leap,"⁹ because they seem to belong to a different scene or genre or because their thematic connections with the other lines seem tenuous (though, in the commentaries, I hope to show such leaps are smoother and not so giant as they might at first appear).

We are very rarely left, however, with a "leaping ending." The return to the theme in the closing lines normally dispels any momentary confusion and creates a well-rounded circular ending. The last line may provide a summation of the argument or a lesson to be learned. In other poems, the last line may be an envoi (the term taken from a similar feature of Provençal poetry), with the patron's name, a reference to another poet's poem which is being imitated, or some subtle redirection of the theme in a different direction. The appearance of the poet's pen name (*taxalloş*) in this point of the poem also concretizes the ending by drawing the attention of the audience from the level of myth, reverie and

⁹ The term is from Robert Bly, *Leaping Poetry: An Idea with Poems and Translations* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975).

abstraction to the immediate present, the social setting of the poetry, and the living speaker, or rather the character and persona of his constructed stage presence, who comments somehow on what has been heard. This thematic and structural sense of closure in the poems is more often than not aurally reinforced by its sound and syntactic patterning.¹⁰

In view of the nocturnal setting of many ghazals, this can be thought of as waking from a dream and its series of subconscious images, and reintegrating with daily life. In this case, one might wish to view the ghazal as a frame tale, a structure in which the opening and closing are generically pre-determined, including the conscious intrusion of the narrator, who guides us through a series of images, tableaux or vignettes, poems-within-poems that are connected by mood.¹¹ However, a close and careful reading of each poem should reveal the connecting sinew and tissue organically joining one image or topos within this skeleton to the next. While several studies and partial catalogues of the motifs and imagery of Persian poetry have been undertaken,¹²

¹⁰ Indeed, J. Stetkevych proposes the organizing principle of the sonata as a metaphor for the movements of the Arabic *nasīb*, "*ut musica poesis*"; see *Zephyrs of Najd*, chapter one.

¹¹ On the frame structure in Islamicate literature, see S. Naddaff, *Arabesque: Narrative Structure and the Aesthetics of Repetition in 1001 Nights* (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1991).

¹² For example, chapter two of A. Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalāloddin Rumi* (Albany: State University of New York, 1978), provides a useful catalog and explanation of a great number of images. M. R. Šafi'i-

comparatively little attention has as yet been paid to the deployment of these images and topoi within given poems and genres of poems and the undergirding structure of Persian poesis and semiosis. A combined approach which investigates the iconography and typology of Persian poetry from within the generic structures and conventions, coupled with an awareness of the audience and performance context of the poems, should help us to better schematize the poems and unravel their semiotic threads.

The following commentary is organized so as to bring out the connections between form and content and to reveal the architectonics undergirding the poems. Poems that do not at first reading yield to a logical or narrative progression, often do reveal a coherent unity of mood and iconography when read in terms of the genre or sub-genre to which they belong. The initiated or ideal reader/listener, who is part of the "textual" or "interpretive" community¹³ for which the poem

Kadkani, *Šovar-e xiāl dar še'r-e fārsi: taḥqiq-e enteḡādi dar taṭavvor-e imāž-hā-ye še'r-e pārsi va xayr-e nazārieh-ye balāḡat dar Eslām va Irān*, 3rd. ed., (Tehran: Mo'asseseh-ye Enteshārāt-e Āgāh, 1366/1987), provides a historical treatment of poetic imagery in Persian, which though beginning with the categories and concerns of the medieval rhetoricians, nevertheless proceeds to a discussion of the meaning of specific images and categories of image (such as colors, the characteristics of the beloved, etc.), as well as a discussion of the use of imagery by specific poets. C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XIe siècle* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1969), provides a study and analysis of the imagery of nature in Persian poetry.

¹³ "Textual community" being the designation of Brian Stock referred to in chapter one and "interpretive community" a term suggested by Schwarz, *Case for a Humanistic Poetics*,

was intended, would, whether consciously or not, relate to these various genres and sub-genres and understand the allusive associations between the various tableaux of a given topos or theme. He would also tend to view these tableaux topically, interpreting them as concrete allusions arising from the specifics of the occasion, the poet's reputation, or the relationship between reciter, poet, and audience.

When we read the poems later, at great historical and cultural remove, we must remind ourselves that such poetry was at least as much an oral art form as a textual one. We are deprived of visual and oral clues that would arise from the performance context, are distant from the cultural constraints and social strategies of the poet, and bring different assumptions and orientations to the poetry. We are part of a textual community with a long reception history of the poet and read his works through the canonical lenses provided to us by the subsequent tradition, without which the poem could not have survived to our day. This reception history colors our understanding, or misunderstandings, of the cultural artifacts or textual representations of what were originally performed and enacted art-forms. The assumptions and orientations we bring to the ghazals of Sanā'i, are obviously quite different from those of his original audience, and to a certain extent create a different poetry from that experienced by the original audience. There are, then several reasons why we

op. cit., 50.

must strive to create in our readings a Gadamerian "fusion of horizons":

- 1) our approach to poetry is much more textually oriented, both in terms of our experience and appreciation of it, and in terms of the critical principles (new critical, structuralist, deconstructionist, etc.) by which we analyze what and how poems mean and how successful poems should work. The ghazal is as much a recitation and performance-based tradition as it is a textual tradition, as I have argued in Chapter One.
- 2) as modern readers, whether Iranian or western, we are a different textual community from the original audience and must apply ourselves assiduously to recover the original cultural context and function of the poetry, as suggested in Chapter Two, for it is "the convergence of text and reader [that] brings the literary work into existence."
- 3) the historical process of transmission of the texts down to our day has altered the poems graphically and even linguistically, making of them cultural monuments which we cannot be sure accurately reflect the original or authorially revised forms created by Sanā'i, as argued in Chapter Three.

To bridge these hermeneutical gaps, and to close the hermeneutic circle, we can attempt to recreate within ourselves a poem's "implied" reader/listener by imagining as concretely as possible the author's intended audience and the assumptions they would have brought to the work. This involves not only becoming steeped in the iconography of the poetry and the "horizon of expectations" of its various genres and sub-genres so that we can explicate the allusions in the texts, but it also requires a working set of assumptions about the uses or social functions of the poetry and the audiences for which they were intended. This "reconstruction of the real reader" admittedly involves considerable speculation on

our part when contemporary documents about the poetry and its audience are lacking or insufficient. As Iser has explained:

...but the further back in time we go, beyond the eighteenth century, the more sparse the documentation becomes. As a result, the reconstruction often depends entirely on what can be gleaned from the literary works themselves....In this respect, there are three types of 'contemporary' reader--the one real and historical, drawn from existing documents, and the other two hypothetical: the first constructed from social and historical knowledge of the time, and the second extrapolated from the readers' role laid down in the text.¹⁴

While it can be dangerous to make tentative and hypothetical suppositions about an antique literary text, without that effort such texts cannot be made to speak to us in a full voice with all the range, tone and texture of the original artistry. If the texts are to stand on their own, as poetry worthy of the name and of our efforts at preservation and appreciation (a goal towards which the English renderings I have provided in Chapter Four have hopefully made a rudimentary contribution), this hypothetical recreation of a real implied reader, through whom we can once again bring the original work of art into being, must be risked.

Set 1: Poems of Love and Praise

A poem admiring the qualities of the beloved can serve just as well as a panegyric to a patron, especially when the beloved is depicted as haughty and unattainable, acting regally on his/her own whim. The relationship of lover to

¹⁴ W. Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 28.

beloved can then stand as a metaphor for the relationship of poet to patron and as a framework for the codification, affirmation and illustration of courtly and chivalric ideals.¹⁵ In this regard, it is worth recalling that the kiss is potentially a political symbol. In France and Germany, a male-to-male, mouth-to-mouth kiss (*baiser d'étiquette*) was a symbol of feudal homage and of ceremonial or diplomatic greetings, until the late medieval period.¹⁶ The European iconographic tradition, however, normally depicts cheek-to-cheek kisses, partly perhaps in order to portray the full or three-quarters view of the faces depicted.¹⁷ Likewise, in Persian poetry, the kiss (*buseh*) or union (*vaşl*, *veşāl*) with the beloved is usually depicted obliquely, as it were cheek-to-cheek (as in poem 1.3, though this is not true for the poems of love enjoyed, set 3), conventionally and stereotypically.

The fascination with the beloved's hair, and the manner in which it is dressed, coiffed and worn, appears across all categories and genres of Sanā'i's *Divān* poetry. The manner of

¹⁵ See the discussion of the ghazals encoding of the values of court society in Meisami, *Medieval Persian*, 240ff.

¹⁶ See J. R. Major, "'Bastard Feudalism' and the Kiss: Changing Social Mores in Late Medieval and Early Modern France," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (1987):509-35, and G. F. Jones, "The Kiss in Middle High German Literature," *Studia Neophilologica* 38 (1966):195-210, esp. 200.

¹⁷ N. Perella, *The Kiss, Sacred and Profane: An Interpretative History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religious Themes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 74.

wearing the hair obviously has some association, possibly residual, with royal ceremony and ritual. The fancy braiding, beading and headgear of the Sassanian rulers depicted on coins and the figures in Sassanian metalwork and Persian miniatures, frequently display a lavish and lascivious attention to the coif of the beloved (as distinct from the hair which appears on the face). Further attention to the semiotics of the terms for hair (*zolf*, *ja'd*, *torreh*, etc.) and the modes of dressing, pomading and wearing it (*tāfteh*, *bar guš*, *'anbar-sā*, etc.) might prove extremely suggestive avenues for study.¹⁸

Poem 1.1

Ghazal 152

Meter: *Ramal mosaddas mahdūf* → - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - -

Lines: 15 **Rhyme:** *ār* **Radif:** -e *yār taxalloṣ*: penultimate line.

Similar poems: There are over one hundred poems in this rhyme by Sanā'i, and more than 260 in some form of the meter *ramal* as well as a further 75 poems in *ramal maxbun*. Forty other poems in *ramal* share the rhyme *ār*. Gh124 in *xafif* has the same rhyme and a similar but more extended *radif* (-e *yār bāyad bud*). Gh142, Gh144 and Gh143:1 share the sonorous echoing effect of rhyme and *radif*, both in **ār*.

Text: MR lists one variant. Compared with Kabul ms (576). As per the Kabul ms, the order of lines 3/4 has been reversed. Variant readings have been adopted in lines 7 and 11.

Sanā'i composed this poem, as explained in line 14, in imitation of a poem by his older contemporary Mo'ezzi. Although there are several poems in Mo'ezzi's *Divān* with the word *yār* in the rhyme position of the opening line,¹⁹

¹⁸ A useful treatment of the iconology of hair in Indian art is provided by K. K. Murthy, *Hair Styles in Indian Art* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1982).

¹⁹ Mo'ezzi, *Divān*, 231, 359, 360, 378, 389, 414, though most of his poems rhyming in **ār* seem to begin with *kuhsār* or *ruzegār*.

apparently there is no trace in the manuscript tradition of the poem Sanā'i seemingly ascribes to Mo'ezzi in line 15:

*ān-ceh man mi-binam az āzār-e yār
gar be-guyam be-škanam bāzār-e yār*

Contrary to de Bruijn's suggestion,²⁰ ghazal 50 in Sanā'i's *Divān* is not the same as the ghazal of Mo'ezzi in the same meter and *radif*,²¹ though the poems are quite obviously modeled on one another, as are two other ghazals by Sanā'i (51 and 52).²² As de Bruijn rightly remarks, however, Sanā'i's *Divān* does include a poem (*Qaṣṣ*27) so similar to the *nasib* of a *qaṣīdeh* ascribed to Borhāni, the father of Mo'ezzi, that one must either conclude that the manuscript tradition has erroneously included this poem in the opus of Sanā'i, or that Sanā'i quite brazenly plagiarized it.²³

²⁰ *OPP*, 73 and 264n54.

²¹ Mo'ezzi, *Divān*, 774.

²² If Sanā'i has modeled this set of poems with the *radif nist hast* after Mo'ezzi, the first and most direct imitation is probably poem 51, which has a similar rhyme to Mo'ezzi's ghazal (*ā'i* versus *ā*) and begins several lines with the pattern *var* ("and if"), as do two of the lines in Mo'ezzi's poem. Sanā'i's ghazal 209 is the same (with minor variations) as a poem in Mo'ezzi's *Divān* (781:17800-17806), only the Sanā'i version has an extra line and its penultimate line is slightly different from the final line in the Mo'ezzi version. Likewise, ghazal 89 in Sanā'i's *Divān* is virtually the same poem given in Mo'ezzi's *Divān* (777-8:17726-17730), only with two extra lines.

²³ *OPP*, 264n54 and M. Mo'in, ed., *Cahār maqāleh, ta'liqāt* 198-204, also Mo'in's article in *Majmu'eh-ye maqālāt*, 240ff. Note, however, that where de Bruijn and Mo'in argue that the poem is also similar to a poem by Mo'ezzi (*Divān*, 128-30), that this poem is not especially close to Sanā'i's version--not any more so, at any rate, than any typical *esteqbāl* or reworking of a rhyme scheme. Mo'in seems to think Sana'i

Poem 1.1 achieves a strong sense of closure by opening and ending with the word *bāzār* (market) in the rhyme position. The poem first describes the sacrifices that one who has a heart in the market for the beloved will undergo to see him/her (1-2). It describes how this beloved arouses the envy and steals the market niche from other items of beauty, such as the rose and ruby, and the proud partridge (2-3). The rose grows pale, losing its cheeky flush in an attempt to bribe the beloved (presumably to go away and not attract attention away from the flower), while the ruby (*la'l*) bleeds to death in envy over the beloved's cheeks (3) and the partridge is put to shame by the strutting of the beloved.

The thought of this particular beloved and the pleasures of her conversation constitute paradise on earth (5-6). The beloved is also compared to various marketable commodities, like sugar (7), pomegranates (8), musk (9) and gems (10). The poem then changes in line 11 to a complaint of the lover's situation and how he has only suffered on account of the charms of the beloved (11-13). The poet here intrudes into the narrative, giving a frame to the tale and offering an explanation for the circumstances of the poem's creation--that he heard a poem by Mo'ezzi in this *radif* about the beloved (*az axbār-e yār*, line 14). The poem then concludes with a quote

"borrowed" *qaṣīdeh* 27 from Borhāni and added a few lines to it.

from Mo'ezzi's poem, announcing that, were he to tell the sufferings meted out to him by the beloved, it would break the market for the beloved. The market metaphor may furthermore suggest that the poem by Mo'ezzi on which it is modeled has attracted considerable fame and attention, but that Sanā'i, by outdoing it, or exposing its shortcomings, will break the market for that poem (14-15).²⁴

The mood is quite light-hearted and abstract, and the poem was possibly composed as an amusement or a musical divertimento (see 14a--this treasure came to Sanā'i) or even, perhaps, as a literary exercise for fellow poets and men of letters at a literary soirée. The *radif* (e-yār), because it rhymes with the actual rhyme syllable (*ār), creates a kind of echoing repetition that serves to emphasize the *radif* even more than usual. The reappearance of the rhyme in the first hemistich of the last line, helps to aurally signal the closing of the poem, establishing sound parallelism of the rhyming pair in each *meşra'* of both the *maṭla'* and *maqṭa'*.

²⁴ Note that Mo'ezzi, in a *qaṣideh* for Šadr al-Din Moḥammad rhyming in *ār which employs the word *yār* in the rhyme position in both the first and penultimate line, states that this poem is a response to an unnamed *Ḥakim* who has composed a poem beginning with the rhyme *yār* (in *še'r mojābāt-e ḥakim-ist keh goft-ast*: "ay del to ceh gu'i ze man yād konad yār"), the rhyme scheme of which Mo'ezzi has preserved in this poem (*tartib negah dāšt Mo'ezzi be-qavāfi*). Though the word *ḥakim* could be used in reference to any respectable man of letters (even in cases where the respectability of the poet was perhaps questionable, as in the case of *Ḥakim Suzani*), and the particular line mentioned by Mo'ezzi does not appear in either poet's *Divān*, it is of interest to note that this title is frequently applied to Sanā'i, even by his contemporaries.

It does not appear that the poem is addressed to any particular patron or beloved, but has a generic, exercise quality to it.

Poem 1.2

Qaşıdeh 153

Meter: *Hazaj mosaddas axrab maqbuẓ mahduf* → --- 0-0- 0-
Lines: 9 **Rhyme:** uš **Radif:** none **taxalloḡ:** ante-penult
Similar Poems: Gh190 has the same rhyme and meter and shares the theme of unrequited love and the night of separation. Most of the *uš rhymes (Gh188-193 and Qaṣ154) are love complaints, but compare especially Gh191 and Gh193, which start off almost identically. Cf. below, 5.4, as well as the poem titled *tagazzol* by 'Am'aq-e Boxārā'i (*Divān*, 172-3), beginning *duš ān ṣanam-e sang-del-e sim banā-guš*.
Text: MR only, two variants. No emendations.

This poem begins with a reverie on the beloved's hair, more specifically, the way in which he arranges his hair over his ears, with tresses (*zolf*) tucked back behind his ears, and with ringlets (*ḥalqeh gašteḥ*) of twisted or braided hair (*ja'd*) hanging onto his shoulders or back (1). The authorial persona then ruminates on the captivating ways of the beloved, which enchant and craze the lover to the point of illness and stupefaction (2). Both hemistichs of lines one and two are phrased as apostrophes to the beloved, addressed (as becomes clear in lines 8-9) in the morning after a night of anguish in which the beloved has failed to keep the appointed tryst. Line 3b continue the address to the beloved (*ay lāleh-rox-e saman banā-guš*) and names him, who, as it becomes obvious in lines 3-4, is a male warrior (*razm koni* and *bot-e zereḥ-puš*), with epithets (*lāleh-rox*, *saman banā-guš*, *mah-e qadaḥ-gir*, *bot-e zereḥ-puš*).

The fetish for the hair seen in line one moves down the face to the red cheeks and white lobes of the ear (3), before shifting the gaze to the (probably raised) goblet in the hands, and beyond that, to the armor or chain-mail covering the upper body. At this point, the poet interrupts his apostrophic reverie, and in the following lines (5-6) addresses the matter at hand to his beloved, urging the beloved to treat him nicely and not to forget him, even if the beloved does not intend to meet him in secret and embrace him. After this I-thou plea for pity, the poem, following the typical conventions of the *taxalloş*, refers to his persona in the third person, establishing a second persona, who appears, in this case, to be the friend or intercessor of the poet. This second persona refers to the now absent "Sanā'i" in the third person (7-9: *soxan-aş, nāleh-ye u, u goḏāşt*), as if he were dead and buried (*giram keh Sanā'i az ġam-at mord*; I guess Sanā'i died pining for thee), and reproaches the beloved for the poet's death (7). Nevertheless, before dying, as the second persona now reports directly to the beloved, addressing him in the second person, Sanā'i filled the night air with his lamentations (much as the nightingale would) over the absence of your face (8). It now appears that lines 1-6 are intended as the dying words of "Sanā'i," the persona of the lover, as reported by the second speaker, who intrudes, speaking in his own voice (7-9), after having begun the poem, Cyrano-like,

speaking for or reporting the words of the departed lover, Sanā'i.

The poem then closes with a prayer, a kind of prayer for lovers, in which the second speaker, distancing himself further from the lover whose identity he seemed to assume in lines 1-6, asks God that no lover ever be compelled to pass the night in such a fashion as "he"--the first persona, Sanā'i--had spent last night. It should be noted that, typically, the mythopoetic moment of the ghazal poet's coherent expression of grief--the actual poem--comes in the morning, following a night of incoherent and plaintive moaning or wailing. Thus, the first-person persona who speaks directly to the beloved, or rather apostrophizes to the absent beloved in lines 1-6, expresses the emotional anguish of the night, whereas the second speaker, who has come to report to the beloved in the morning, is no longer speaking feverishly (*por az juš*), in reverie, but is addressing the beloved rationally.

Finally, in the last line, he provides a moral to the story, in the form of a prayer, addressed no longer to the beloved, but to God. The structure of the poem is thus quite tight with a logical narrative progression from one persona to another and from the reverie of night into the remembered or integrated suffering of the daylight.

While a poem of praise at the outset, *qaṣīdeh* 153 verges into a complaint of love by the later lines (6-9). It is

clearly a ghazal, but what is not so clear is why it should be included here rather than as poem of complaint. It seems to me that this poem is quite likely intended for a patron, perhaps one whose court Sanā'i was trying to enter. This is signalled by the vocabulary of *razm* and *bazm* and the actual epithets said to be addressed to the beloved (*bot-e zereh-puṣ* and *mah-e qadaḥ-gir*), which seem to belong more to the realm of an army officer patron. The convention of another speaker reporting the death of the lover is also unusual in the poems of suffering love or in the poems of complaint. This poem, though it does complain and wish for better treatment of poor Sanā'i, is in the first place a poem of praise. It shares with the next poem, as do several of the alba poems we shall see in set 3 (love enjoyed), the closing prayer about the state of the lover at night.

1.3

Ghazal 173

Meter: *Hazaj mogamman axrab makfuf maḥduf* → --- 0--- 0--- 0---
Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** uz **Radif:** none **taxalloṣ:** none
Similar Poems: Qaṣ138 same rhyme. Gh5 and Rob1 share the rhyme and the opening motif of the beloved's face and hair as day and night. A similar prayer for lengthening the night is found in Gh208:3 and in the poems of love enjoyed. Several Robā'i in the same rhyme (141, 144, 265) play with variants on this day/night theme. Contrast these with the prayer for relief of the lover's suffering at night, expressed in Qaṣ153, above. See also Gh10.5 for adoration of a spiritual figure.
Text: MR has 9 variants; compared with Kabul 534. Emendations in the order of lines: 5-6 become 3-4; 3 becomes 5; 4 becomes 5. Variant reading in line 3

This poem takes the form of an address by a single integrated persona, casting himself in the role of a lover, to the object of his praise, who remains unnamed, but is

generically described. As is the convention of Persian poetry, the patron or beloved is addressed in the second person familiar (to/thou). In the very last hemistich (7b), while still employing the grammatical second person (to/thou, signalled in line 7b only by the imperative conjugation of the verb, *ma-kon*, and the vocative *yā rabb*), the addressee is no longer the beloved/patron, but God. Note that this structure neatly parallels the concluding section of the proto-typical Persian *qaṣīdeh*--the *do'ā* or prayer--in which, after the section of praise for the patron (*madiḥ*), who is addressed in the second person familiar, the poet expresses hope or beseeches God for the long life and good health of the ruler. In line 7b, however, as in some Biblical psalms, the prayer is addressed by the worshipper on his own behalf, though in this case, the worshipper is the lover (*'āšeq*)--both the generic lover and the specific authorial persona of the poem--who wishes to eternally lengthen his intercourse with the beloved, by infinitely delaying the arrival of the day. The comparison of the beloved's hair and face to night and day is here given a ritual significance; they resemble not just any day and night, but *Now-ruz*, the Persian New Year's festival, falling on the spring equinox, and *Laylat al-qadr*, the "Night of Power," traditionally understood to be a calendar day falling in the month of *Ramāzān*, though there is disagreement over the precise day. The Night of Power, as explained in the *Qur'ān* (*Sūrat al-Qadr*, #97) is better than a thousand months, for in

it God sends down his angels and the Spirit (*al-rūḥ*), helping to accomplish the divine plan. It is traditionally believed that the prayers of the observant believer are answered on this night, a night scripturally described as "peace until the rise of dawn" (*salām^{un} hiya ḥattā maṭla` al-fajr*). The lover's prayer in 7b, for the extension of the night, which he utters every night in the beloved's absence (7a), is invested with special significance on this Night of Power; certainly God and the Concourse on High will answer the prayer tonight and bring about the desired union with the beloved (7a: *vaṣl-e to*).

From the ritual and cosmic implications of the beloved's face and hair (1-2) the poem moves on to a metaphor with political and economic significance (3), in which the beloved's "products"--his kiss (*buseh-š*) and flirtatious glance (*gamzeh-š*), respectively referred to, in accordance with Persian poetic convention, as his "pistachio" (*pesteh*, the half-cracked pistachio shell is imagined as the smiling or kissable mouth), and his "almonds" (*bādām*, describing the ideal shape of beautiful eyes)--have conquered and destroyed the world. Since both world-conqueror (*jahān-gir*) and world-destroyer (literally, world-burner, *jahān-suz*) were used as honorifics or throne-names for expansionist and militarily successful regents in the Iranian cultural sphere, the implication is that this beloved has conquered the realm of love (*mamlekat-e `āšeqi*), a theme that will reappear in the "school of love" poems (set 15).

After praising the beloved in these terms, the lover sees an opportunity to request a favor of the monarch of love (8): in order to ensure that the beloved's subjects have eyes for no one but the beloved, he should bestow kisses (*buseh*) upon them and "blind" them with the arrows of his amorous glances (*gamzeh*). Here the focus has changed from praise of the beloved, to the lover's request, again in structural parallel (as we have seen in Chapter Two) to the request (*ṭalāb*) that the poet can make in the *qaṣīdeh*, though here it is generic and metaphorical, couched in the vocabulary of love. The language sounds convincingly panegyric and, if directed at a monarch, the kiss, as noted at the beginning of the chapter could be a kiss of fealty or ceremony, and the glance of the ruler a courtly sign of favor. In line 5, the lover asks the beloved/patron to return to his heart, as if the beloved were patrolling or surveying his domains and subjects, and advises that if he finds any hint of sedition in the land of the lover's heart, he should lay this region waste, as a monarch would, and scorch it to the ground.

The concluding line of this section (6) sets up the prayer uttered by the disheartened lover, who expresses here his frustration and confusion at the behavior of the beloved. Though the lover/subject is accomplished in the ways of love, having read the book of love cover-to-cover, yet he does not know what to do to convince this particular beloved of the worthiness and sincerity of his own love, and finding himself

helpless like a beginner, he prays on the Night of Power, for God to help him in his affairs.

1.4

Ghazal 114

Meter: *Hazaj moṣamman axrab makfuf mahduf*

→ --- 0--- 0--- 0---

Lines: 5 **Rhyme:** uš **Radif:** *nehādand taxalloṣ*: none.

Similar Poems: Gh81 and Gh377 have a similar *radif* and begin with similar themes. The same is true for Gh376 which also has the same rhyme, and is quite close to this poem thematically, though it seems set in a Sufi context. Gh193 in the same rhyme begins with almost identical phrases. See also Qaṣ153 above.

Text: MR takes from Kabul ms. No variants, but one emendation in line 5, reading *kām o lab* instead of *kām-e lab*, as it makes better sense and matches the pairing of *fetneh o āšub* and *šekar o nuš*.

As in the previous poem, this opens with the eye visually caught up in the beloved's hair, whence it roves over the ears (1-2), the shoulders or back (1), the upper body (3), the outline or jaw-line of the face (4), finally settling on the mouth (5). Structurally, there is also an interesting progression in the person of the verbs ending the first hemistich of each line--from "they" (1a), to "I" (2a), to "it" (3a), and finally to "thou" (4a). The verb of the *radif*--"they put" (*nehādand*)--in conjunction with the adverbs of time that punctuate every line (*tā* in 1a, 2b, 3b, 4a and *dar vaqt* in 5a) portray the lover or speaker of the poem re-imagining the beloved at her toilette, as she is pomaded, perfumed and draped by her attendants. Thus, though the lover watches the beloved, admiring the cumulative effect of her coif and attire, he works backward, undressing, or as it were,

deconstructing the process which made her up into the gorgeous sight standing before him.

The presence of attendants, alluded to by the third-person plural form of the verb (*nehādand*) but never named, signal the noble status of the subject of the poem. Indeed, there may be a hint that the beloved here is an object of veneration, tended like an idol, by shamans or devotees. The reference in 3b to the christening of the beloved as "the becloaked Cypress" (*sarv-e qabā-puš*), which though outwardly a term of endearment for a beloved, suggests that the scene depicted may be a ceremonial occasion at which the beloved, or patron, is being invested with some kind of mantle or tunic (*qabā*) signifying political or religious station, or has undergone a public ritual (circumcision, designation to successorship, etc.). The subject of attention in the poem has, then, donned formal attire and, in conformity to the mood or occasion, the courtiers or lovers (*'oššāq*), who had been garbed merely in shirts, must now do likewise. The lovers' tunics (*pirāhan*, a jersey-like, close-collared shirt), pulled on over the head, have been turned into open doublets or mantles (*qabā*, which would be fastened in the front by a belt or eyelet)²⁵ by the beloved's cruelty (3a), alluding to the fact that the lovers, overwhelmed in love and longing, have rent their garments, as those in mourning do.

²⁵ See E. Peck, "Clothing: viii. In Persia From the Arab Conquest to the Mongol invasion," *EIr*, esp. 768-72.

The hair has apparently been massaged with perfumed oil (*gālieh*) in order to twist it (*tāfteh*) into the braids or coils (*zolfin*) over the ears (1-2), and these braids, or perhaps the curls of the beard, have circled the face, or moon (*mah*) of the beloved, with civet chains (4a). The coif described may possibly be ceremonial, corresponding to a specific royal ritual or station, like the elaborate head-dresses and coifs depicted on Sasanian coinage. In any case, this hair-dressing drives the lover mad, leading to his enchainment (4b), for the insane were commonly chained in the medieval period. The poet, who has earlier declared his fealty to the command of this beloved, which he signifies by wearing the ring of slavery in his ear (2), alludes in the final line (5) to the bold and flirtatious tone of the patron's speech, which is at once spicy and sweet. The ceremonial appearance of the monarch or feudal lord to the populace, speaking wittily and commandingly, therefore causes quite a stir (*fetneh*, *āšub*).

1.5

Ghazal 235

Meter: *Hazaj mosaddas axrab maqbuẓ maḥḍuf* → --- 0-0- 0---

Lines: 14 **Rhyme:** *ān* **Radif:** *am* **taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: There are more than 100 poems in the same rhyme. Poems sharing the rhyme and meter include Gh79, Gh247 and Gh249. Qaṣ179 shares the same rhyme and *radif*, as do Gh2377 and Gh240-1 which also have similar themes. Qaṣ178 has the same rhyme and meter, whereas Gh236 shares same rhyme, meter, *radif* and theme.

Text: MR only, 2 variants. No emendations.

Like the first poem in this section, poem 1.5 is an elaborate declaration of devotion to an un-named "thou,"

described in language used for a beloved, including, towards the end of the poem, three conventional epithets for the beloved, uttered vocatively: *ay negārīn* ("O icon," 10a) *māh-ruyā* ("O moon-face," 12a), *botā* ("O idol," 13a). Here, however, the mood of the poem is more earnest than in 1.1 or 1.2, and subtly (though not conclusively) leads one to imagine a religious or mystical object of devotion, rather than a political one. The poet asserts his sincerity in line 3, by inverting the conventional objective of the poet/lover--the attainment to union with the beloved (*veṣāl*)--and stating that if it were not for his love (*'ešq*) for the addressee, attaining his/her presence, would be like any other ordinary, nameable pleasurable, lacking the special significance which he has described above (1-2). The formula of 3b (*joz nām...bar zabān-am*) occurs once again in line 7, where the poet declares that "no name but yours has been on my lips since my ear heard your name."²⁶

By line 12, the poet has exhausted his lexicon of admiration, in which one of the virtues of the beloved and the corresponding effect it has on the poet are laid out in tandem within each line. This paeon concludes with an admission that "your description" (*vaṣf-e to*) is beyond "my" powers of "fancy and imagination" (*az vahm borun o az gomān-am*). In the denouement (13-14), the figure of the beloved seems to merge with that of the wine-bearer, also conventionally an object of

²⁶ A similar formula also appears in Qas179:1-2.

the poetic persona's affections, but one who is usually of inferior status. The poet beseeches the beloved "idol" to bring the wine and sit at his side for a time (literally, seat me at your side a while--*be-nšān bar-e xviš yek zamān-am--* signifying the authority of the beloved to command the seating arrangements, whether at court or at a banquet), asking for the favor of being served directly by the hand of the praised one, as opposed to the servants who would normally perform this task. This might constitute a symbolic plea for the poet's reward, a more subtle version of the request (*ṭalab*) permitted in the *qaṣideh*, or, in an actual banquet setting, the entire poem might function as a toast to the host. After the invited guests have assembled, the host is called upon to come forward and make his appearance (1-2). The poet explains that he cannot stand to be without the face of the host: the host has stolen his heart and he must remain where his heart is (4)²⁷ and the host is the only remedy for his heartsickness (5). The guests have assembled in the portico or courtyard of the host, after following the scent (*bu*)²⁸ of the banquet outside in the street to the door of the host, whose own appearance is now desired (6). The host/patron is further coaxed with the declaration that the name of no other patron crosses the poet's lips, for pearly tears have been

²⁷ cf. Gh242:1a.

²⁸ *Bu* also means "hope," so the poet can be following the scent either of the food or of the beloved's perfume, or he may be pursuing the hope of seeing the beloved's face.

rolling down his cheeks ever since the patron's tulip (*lāleh*), here meaning his lips, have closed over the pearly teeth (*lo'lo'*) of the beloved (8).²⁹ The poet then asserts he has turned pale in his pining, like the quince blossom (9a), with its petals white on top and red underneath, like a face drained of blood; meanwhile, his tears are bloody crimson, like the seeds of the pomegranate (9b).

At this point the host/patron/beloved appears to the crowd, or the poet imagines his appearance. Focusing on the beauty mark on the beloved's face, the poet's eyes are illumined and his stomach churns (10), and he is led to announce that love (*'ešq*, as in 3a) for this beloved lords over his heart forever (11). This certainly suffices as a statement of fealty and devotion, but lest the patron feel that the poem has been cut off prematurely, the poet now confesses his inability to properly describe the exalted nature of his subject (12), and so calls for wine and the honor of sitting next to the patron (13). By granting the poet the distinction of drinking wine served directly by the hand of the host, the patron would, in effect, be granting

²⁹ The image probably alludes specifically to the species of bulb called *Tulipa Clusiana*, popularly known as the "Lady Tulip." Its petals are red and white on the exterior of the flower and white on the interior, with a dark spot at the interior center, thus resembling from the outside a half-opened mouth with white teeth revealed between the parted red lips.

eternal life to the poet, like the mythical prophet, Xežr, said never to have died.³⁰

Set 2: Poems of Love Enjoyed

There are relatively few poems with this theme in Sanā'i's poetry (approximately twenty-five). Although one can never be certain, in view of the esoteric exegetical practices of Islamic mysticism, it would seem these poems were mostly intended as divertimenti for the banquets and convivias held by various members of the courtly milieu. The alba theme that recurs in such poetry is, of course, shared in common with the urban Arabic ghazal, Arabo-Andalusian lyric, as well as old Provençal and old French poetries, and a number of other traditions from around the world.³¹

2.1

Ghazal 215

Meter: *Ramāl moṣamman maḥḍuf* → -0-- -0-- -0-- -0--

Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** ar **Radif:** *dāštām* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: There are over 90 poems with this rhyme, 21 sharing the same meter. Gh122 shares the rhyme and the theme of love enjoyed, as does Qaṣ126 in its *naṣīb*. Several poems share the meter and a radif including some form of the verb *dāštām*: Qaṣ207-209 (see Chapter Two) and Gh379.

Text: MR only, no variants, no emendations.

³⁰ The figure of Xežr in Islamic tradition bears some similarity to Jewish lore about Elijah and Elisha. Etymologically, the Arabic root *XŽR* (*xažer*, *xažrā*) suggests green the color green and verdant foliage, while the quadriliteral root *XŽRM* connotes flowing water, abundance, liberality (*xežrem*), or an elder man who has lived through two separate epochs (*moxažram*). Xežr is said to have protected travellers, especially seafarers. Thus the word may also suggest here a secondary image of abundant flowing wine and a liberal patron.

³¹ See Arther Hatto, ed., *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1965).

Here we have an expression of the typical themes of the Provençal *alba*, the Old French *aube* or *aubade*, and the German *Tagelied*, a genre attested in France from about a half-century after the life of Sanā'i, and, in Arabic poetry, from the early Islamic, if not the pre-Islamic period.³² This and several other poems of Sanā'i mandate re-examination of G. M. Wickens' assertion that "the *alba* form is not of common occurrence in Persian."³³ Here, the poet narrates for us, in the morning light, his adventures with the *amorata* of the night before. He tells us his destined portion (*naṣīb*) of

³² See E. W. Poe, "The Three Modalities of the Old Provençal Dawn Song," *Romance Philology* 37 (1984). Compare the parting of the *za'n* at dawn in the *naṣīb* section of the pre-Islamic Arabic *qaṣīdah* and the frequent *aubade* theme in the urban poems of the Umayyad poet, 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah (23-93/644-712), where the lover must avoid the beloved's watchful relatives under cover of darkness and flee from her side before the morning light exposes their rendezvous. See also, Bernard Lewis and S.M. Stern, "Arabic," in *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry*, ed. Arthur Hatto (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1965), 215-43.

³³ G.M. Wickens, "Persian" in *Eos*, ed. A. Hatto, op cit., 244-5. Wickens does note, however, that "Certain indications would seem to suggest, however, that a considerable yield of dawn poems may one day be garnered from the vast and largely unexplored storehouse of Persian mystical poetry." He goes on to speculate that, because the meetings of Sufi fraternities often lasted throughout the night, there may be an association between the image of dawn and the poetry of Sufis. This time-frame would also hold true for literary and wine soirées, however, so one would not expect the motif to be confined to Sufi poetry. Indeed, the *alba* motif occurs often in courtly poetry of the Umayyad period, and it is also implicitly incorporated into the topos of the nightingale and the rose. If the *alba* motif is systematically searched for in Persian ghazal poetry, I think it will be found to be a recurring, though not necessarily predominant, part of the repertoire of Persian poetry.

earthly happiness was granted to him last night (1a) as he slept on the slender trunk of his beloved and laid his head on her breast (1b). He was beyond himself with joy at her beauty, feeling his station to be above the sun (2b), as he embraced the embodiment of the seven beauties of the world--the narcissus eyes, the slender tall trunk of her midriff (*šamšād*, the box tree being symbolic of the supple tall stature desirable in a beloved), the lilies of her breast (*susan*), the musk-scented, bright sheen of her skin, her face radiant as the moon and roses--until dawn (3). The beloved's breast is a combination of aromatic lilies and bright argentine skin, her lips like milk and honey, to which the poet presses his own breast and lips (4). The lovers' arms lock in an embrace about each other's neck, as if their entwined arms were bands or necklaces (*canbar*, line 5) and, as the morning light illuminates the scene, the poet remarks that, indeed, there is a necklace of gold around the beloved's neck, perhaps signifying the love marks his bites and kisses have left on her fair skin, whereas the poet is left with his breast (*susan*, lily) scented with the ambergris perfume of her body (6).³⁴

The call to morning prayer, however, ends this illicit nocturnal tryst, with its opening line--*Allāhu akbar*, *Allāhu akbar*, "God is the Most Great"--which is usually cantillated

³⁴ Compare the bestowing of necklace by father to son and by lover to ephebe in the explicitly homoerotic poem, Qas126:17.

by the prayer caller (muezzin) with a pause between the truncated first rendition of the phrase, and the elongated repetition of the second. In this interval between the two *Allāhu Akbars* the realization that his night of pleasure fulfilled has come to a close crowds in on the poet; he longs to stop the passage of time and the completion of the prayer, to delay the hour of parting.³⁵ This desire to obstruct the performance of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) betrays a lack of concern for piety and undoubtedly calls to mind the illicit nature of this lovers' meeting. Musing on these feelings, the lover's persona swears for us, the audience, who are cast in the role of his close friend or confidant, that he is a heathen if he wished at that moment for the prayer to proceed. The irony of his phrase is quite clear: a man clearly unconcerned with the faithful observance of the religious laws and sexual mores swears that he is an infidel--meaning he does not consider himself to be so--if he was happy to hear the morning prayer, which, given the body's natural desire for sleep, we may assume many a good Muslim on many a morning is not so anxious to hear in the first place.

There is, then, a tight structure and closure to the poem, which opens with the lover recounting, in the daytime, his exploits of the night before, working up to the moment of

³⁵ This topos was repeated by many other poets. Cf., the ghazal by Sa'di beginning: *emšab magar be-vaqt nemi-xvānad in xorus*, in *Kolliāt-e Sa'di*, ed. M. A. Foruḡi (Tehran: Eqbāl, 1363/1984), 3:244-5.

the dawn when the light--and the call to religion--broke in to dispel his fantasy. The first hemistich of this last line (7a), echoes with the rhyme syllable (ar) in both *akbar* and *kāfar*, aurally signalling the end of the poem. The rhyme syllable resonates, furthermore, through much of the poem in non-rhyming positions, as in the following words: *dar bar*, *bar tar* and *xwaršid* in 2; *narges*, *sahar*, *har*, *dar* in 3; *bar* four times in 4; *bar*, *gardan*, *canbar*, *dar* in 5; *kardam*, *farqi*, *canbar* in 6 and *degar* in 7b. Also, at about the midpoint of the poem (line 4), we find the *radif*, *dāštam*, echoing at the end of the first hemistich, as well as in the refrain position at the end of the line.

2.2

Ghazal 25

Meter: *Hazaj mosaddas axrab maqbuḏ mahḏuf* → --- 0-0- 0---

Lines: 11 **Rhyme:** ā **Radif:** ast **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar poems: Nearly 60 poems share this rhyme, six of them in the same meter. Gh1 shares rhyme, meter and the theme of love enjoyed. Gh272 shares rhyme and theme, whereas Qaṣ31 and Qaṣ34 both have the same rhyme and *radif*. Cf. the ghazal by Hāfeẓ in a similar *radif* and a similar opening theme: *xiāl-e ru-ye to dar har tariq hamrah-e mā-st*.³⁶

Text: MR two variants. Amin Aḥmad Rāzi's *Haft Eq̄lim* (1010/1601-2)³⁷ quotes the first three lines under the rubric of a *qeṭ'eh*. No emendations.

This poem turns what might otherwise be a love lament into a song of joy, as the poet delights in reminiscence of the image of the Friend (*dust*). The lover, when separated at night from his beloved, may sometimes be visited by an

³⁶ *Divān*, ed. Xānlari, 74 (Gh29).

³⁷ *Haft Eq̄lim*, ed. Javād Fāzel, (Tehran: Ketābforuši-ye 'Ali Akbar 'Elmi), 315.

apparition of the beloved (*ṭayf al-xayāl*),³⁸ one of the conventional motifs of classical Arabic and Persian poetry. This phantasma typically presents itself as a symptom of the lover's delirium in lovesickness, but in this case, the poet is quite content to watch the appearance of this doppelganger of his sweetheart for the rest of his life (1). Indeed, this *xiāl* is rather a remembrance, a lingering recollection of the beloved, which he sees before him like a beautiful image (*naqṣ*), not a specter conjured up with apprehension or delusion.

In line 2 this image grows even more abstract and becomes, perhaps, somewhat disassociated from the friend or beloved of the previous line. The phrase "the beauty of the friends (*jamāl-e dustān*)" could be taken either as the beautiful sight of like-minded friends gathered together (as in a Sufi *majles*), or as a concrete noun, meaning "the Beauty of the friends/lovers," i.e., the one whom the lovers think to be beautiful. In any case, this "beauty," wherever and whatever it is, transports those who contemplate it from the

³⁸ Called "nightly phantom" or "dream phantom" or "dream vision," by J. Stetkevych, who cites an interesting example from 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah (*Zephyrs*, 152; see also 15 and 85). John Seybold, "The Earliest Demon Lover: The *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* in *al-Mufaddaliyāt*," in *Reorientations*, ed. S. Stetkevych, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 180-89, shows how the "dream visit from the lady's phantom" replaces the motif of the abandoned campsite (182). For a broader and historically oriented discussion of this topos, see Hasan al-Bannā, 'Izz al-Dīn, *al-Ṭayf wa al-xayāl fī al-šī'r al-'arabī al-qadīm*, (Cairo: Dār al-Nadīm li al-Našr wa al-Tawzī' wa al-Ṣiḥāfah, 1988).

dark interior of the house (at night?) to the sunny plain of the meadow. To be pricked by a thorn in the spot where the heart's desire (*morād-e del*, again a potentially disembodied concept, and one that could also refer to the spiritual master--*morād*--of the disciple) is achieved, provides greater satisfaction than an unending supply of luscious dates (3).

Continuing with this topographical conceit, the poem launches into an unusual (for a ghazal) extended set of run-on lines (4-6), which evokes simultaneously the pleasures of the landscape and the beautiful features of the beloved: the musky fragrance of the breeze, the silky daedal of the earth (4); the blossoms on the trees, their calyces or corollas, like the open lips of the beloved, reveal the white stamens or inflorescences, which, like the beloved's teeth, shine like the Pleiades against the black background of the sky (5); the tulips that dot the hillsides, like the eyes of so many paradisiacal angels, or houris, to be enjoyed when the true believer gets to heaven (6). All of these may be momentarily enjoyed by the pleasure seeker, but once he falls in love and the destiny of lovesickness overtakes him, all these beauteous experiences are lost to him (7). For this reason, the eye that truly sees the meaning of separation (*ferāq*), and therefore, the lover who truly knows the meaning of being in love, will never glory in or grow haughty when union (*vaşl*) with the beloved, and such beautiful sights as have been enumerated, are vouchsafed to him (8).

The speaker of the poem, then, pronounces this parable on the nature of love, as a preceptor to his pupils, warning them that, though they are about to enjoy the company of the beloved, they must not wax proud at this bounty nor must they forget that absence is also one of the poles of love. With this understanding, he then sends them on to join with their desire, as the crows--a symbol of separation in the Perso-Arabic tradition (*ġurāb al-bayn*)-- have left the garden, affording an opportunity for the nightingale to make love to his rose (9), which causes the songbirds to trill out in joyous thanks that it is, at last, their turn.

The poem, as suggested above, seems geared for an audience of Sufi disciples, learning the lessons of mystical love or the proper etiquette for interacting with the Shaykh or Pir of an order, whom the newer disciples would presumably not be able to meet every day. The disciples must learn, then, to hold this image of their patron saint in mind at all times, even when they are not able, perhaps because of the crowd of other visitors (the crows) or perhaps because of geographical distance, to see and learn from him.

2.3

Ghazal 236

Meter: *Hazaj mosaddas axrab maqbuḏ mahḏuf* → --- 0--0- ---

Lines: 5 **Rhyme:** *ān* **Radif:** *am* **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: over 100 poems have this rhyme. Gh237, Gh240-41, and Qaṣ179 share the same rhyme and *radif* (compare Qaṣ179:2 to lines 3 and 7). Gh235 and Qaṣ178 have same rhyme, *radif* and meter. Gh235 begins with similar wording, as does Qaṣ64, which shares the same rhyme and meter. Gh246 and Qaṣ165 share the meter, *radif* and a similar theme.

Text: MR only, no variants, no emendations

In a shorter, more telescoped form, we find a repetition of the aubade poem encountered above in 2.1, though this does not display the same subtleties. The beloved in this poem is never named, but described in terms of the significance she holds in the lover's imagination: my world and my soul, the comfort of my psyche (*jahān o jān-am, rāhat-e ravān-am*). The couple seem to embrace while standing, as the beloved's long midriff and the long locks of hair hanging down her back create the dizzying impression that the lover himself is standing in the sky (3). Despite her imposing figure, the beloved lowers her head to rest it on his breast, in a gesture of affection and acquiescence to the act of love (4a); no sooner does this happen, though, than he, as it were, loses consciousness, and she leaves his side (4b). The phrase--*raft az bar-e man jahān o jān-am*--has something of an intentionally ambiguous meaning; the poet is no longer possessor of his wits (*jān*) and surroundings (*jahān*), and/or no sooner had the beloved (who is, as seen in the first line, world [*jahān*] and spirit [*jān*] to him) embraced him than she left his side.

This recollection of the night of love is much briefer than in 2.1 and does not detail the qualities of the innamorata, who hardly seems physical in this poem. Indeed, she shares many similarities with the phantasm of the beloved encountered in 2.2, her qualities being given in psychological and less than concrete terms (1-2): my world, my *anima* (*jān*), my psyche's solace, who multiplies my force of life (*be-fzud*

hezār jān beh jān-am). This is further confirmed by the fantastic nature of her apparition--the poet seems to see himself standing in the midst of the sky embracing his inner object of desire, as if in a dream (3). This reverie is interrupted, as in 2.1, by the muezzin's call to prayer at daybreak, whereupon the speaker declares his devotion to the noisy midnight shouting of the watchman or town crier, whose shouting one would normally not wish to hear--both because it prevents peaceful sleep and signals the potential presence of burglars or brigands. Again, the parallel between the daylight of religious observance and the night fraught with dangers and illicit activities, with the lover/poet's sentiments leaning clearly toward the latter, is noteworthy.

2.4

Qaṣīdeh 77

Meter: *Hazaj moṣamman axrab makfuf maḥḍuf* → --- 0--- 0--- 0---

Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** *ār* **Radif:** *bar āmad* **Taxalloṣ:** None

Similar Poems: Qaṣ124 for Bahrāmšāh and Qaṣ78 both follow the same meter and a similar *radif*. Gh185 rhyme and meter. Qaṣ112 in the same meter has similar theme and *radif*. Poems with the same rhyme and meter: Gh144, 185, 225, 378, 381. Compare Hāfez Gh22 (*zolf āšofteh vo xuy kardeh vo xandān lab o mast*).

Text: MR 7 variants, no emendations.

Here we have an inversion of the alba poem; the beloved appears to the lover in the light of day and in plain view of all, like a slave on display in the market place. In this particular case, the beloved is said to be drunk (*mast*), making his eyes and demeanor especially appealing and his mood especially amorous. While his presence creates mayhem in the marketplace, stirring up the dust of complacency and bringing

the normal exchange of business to a halt, this idol is at the same time in a subservient position. For a free man to be drunk and disorderly would make him subject to punishment and in need of protection; as it is, the beloved here has been brought into the market as a slave, to be sold. However, as in the *šahr-āšub* of Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān, some sections of the *Kār-nāmeḥ-ye Balx*, as well as other ghazals of Sanā'i (e.g., 9.5 below), the beloved's appearance throws the entire town (at least the male population) into turmoil, bringing trade to a standstill, with the days' accounts being closed early (2a, *ruz foru šod*) and business (2b, *kār*) ending sadly for all those enamored (1b, *'oššāq*; 2, *del-šodeh, šifteḥ*) with this idol.

The poet recounts this story with pride, for this particular idol, as announced in the first line (1a, *bot-e man*), belongs to him. It is the poet, then, who purchases this boy as a catamite (3b, *xaridār bar āmad*), at least for one night, after carefully weighing the value of, or perhaps evaluating the trade-off between (*bāz ān do beh ham kard*), his silk (soft cheeks, *dibā*, 3a) and ambergris (*'anbar*, the fragrant dark down above his lip), which will eventually spoil his cheeks and make him illicit as an object of desire. The poet's persona delights in the covetousness (4a, *hasrat*) felt by the cloth merchant (4b, *bazzāz*) and apothecary (*'attār*)-- whose business it is to know about the various qualities of silk and ambergris (the medieval apothecary prepared perfumes

and pomades, as well as medicinal compounds)--over the freshness (4a, *now-ā'in*) and excellence of this boy's qualities. Their admiration, as well as that of the myriad other admirers affirms the poet's good fortune and sense of power in the game of sexual politics, at having obtained this highly prized luxury item.

Even the other objects of sexual desire--the idols (5, *botān*)--are jealous because of this new ephebe's beauty. In an attempt to forbid intercourse with this cynosure of desire, they declare him to be over-age and therefore illicit as an object of homosexual desire, because the down on his cheeks and lips has grown coarse and rough (5b, *guyand keh bar barg-e golšan xār bar āmad*, they say thorns have poked their way through the petal of his rose). This poem clearly illustrates the particular fetish with facial hair (*xatt*, 3a, 5a) both above the lips and at the curve of the jaw bone, just in front of the earlobes (*banā-guš*, 5a), which occurs repeatedly throughout Persian poetry as we shall see in the homoerotic poems (set 5; see also "facial hair" in the iconography section). The poet, however, defends the licitness of this ephebe as an object of sexual affection in line 6, by asserting that God glance (*izad nazar-i kard*) on the self-same clay (*māyeh*, stuff, material or capital) as that found in the cheeks of this ephebe, to raise lilies (*susan*, which we saw in 2.1 as a metaphor for the skin or breast) and bushy shrubs

(*šamšād*, literally, the box tree, a metaphor for curly, thick hair) from the flowerbed (*golzār*).

God's gaze brings down blessings with it (*nazar kardeh* meaning gazed upon or blessed by God or a saint) and suggests the ideal and perfect beauty of this boy. While God has thus blessed the clay from which this boy was fashioned, the phrase may at the same time humorously suggest that God's glance of desire has had the effect of the evil eye (a covetous glance is said to bring harm to the object desired), and thus caused the ephebe to age and grow the unwanted beginnings of a beard (*nazar kardan* can also mean to jinx with the evil eye). This ambiguity of the divine gaze is reflected in the fact that both smooth, delicate flowers (*susan*) and bushy shrubs (*šamšād*) were made by God to grow from the same ground (6b). Thus, the question of the ephebe's status is not conclusively answered. Though his cheeks have been earlier referred to as silk "freshly spun" (4a, *now-ā'in*, which can connote fresh and new; innovative; and newly-initiated, as in a creed or ritual), there is doubt introduced about the status, or rather, the certainty that he will one day outgrow his ephebe status as his beard grows out is introduced.

The temporal limitations of this love are then reaffirmed in the final line, which assumes once again the form of the alba. Before the poet has a chance to fully enjoy his purchased pleasure in private, the morning rises above the mountains (*kohsār*, a phrase which possibly carries sexual or

anatomic overtones), at which point the night of sexual licence he has paid for comes to a close. The poem, too, which has followed a fairly logical narrative progression--from daylight, when the idol was led into the market, through the night's pleasure, until the next morning and the presumed resumption of business as usual--achieves a rather tight sense of closure. The first hemistich in both the second and penultimate lines end in a third person past-tense verb (2a, *foru šod* and 6a, *nazar-i kard*), following a structure parallel to all the second hemistichs (which end in the refrain *bar āmad*). Likewise, we find in the final syllable of the first hemistich of the last line (7a, *bār*) an echo of the poem's rhyme (**ār*), though lacking the radif. Though both hemistichs (1a and 1b) of the opening line (*matla'*) of a ghazal must rhyme with one another, there is no requirement that both hemistichs of the final line rhyme. Sanā'i occasionally uses this device (cf. poem 2.1) as an aural signal of closure in some of his ghazals.

It may furthermore be noted that the use of the word *bār*, meaning a formal audience or visit with an important personage, often the ruler (it also means the royal court, both in terms of the physical place where the king receives guests and the entourage of courtiers and officials who are assembled on a formal occasion of state), is not a term that would normally describe a lover's tryst and may suggest that the poem was recited on a specific occasion, perhaps at the

court of an official. If this is the case, *bot-e man* (my idol) in line 1 could be read as the patron, to whose banquet or reception Sanā'i felt himself very fortunate to receive an invitation, perhaps even to the exclusion of other poets (6a, *beh xalvat*, "alone"). The poem, then, might have been recited as a prelude to the host's appearance before his assembled guests. The last line then, would mean that though he finally got an audience with the patron, the evening ended much too quickly for the poet, who might like to be invited once again.

2.5

Ghazal 272

Meter: *Ramal moṣamman maḥḍuf* → - 0 - - 0 - - - 0 - - - 0 - -

Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** ā **Radif:** *zanim* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: There are almost 20 poems in this meter with a *radif* based on some form of the verb *zadan*. The closest poem to this one is Qaṣ87, a panegyric for Yahyā ebn Faḏl, which has the same rhyme and meter and a very similar *radif* (*zanad*). Qaṣ187-9 and Gh273-4 share the same *radif*, all of them except Qaṣ187 in the same meter. Cf. the *radif* of Gh279: *al-ḡiās ay dustān*. More than 45 of the nearly 60 poems rhyming in ā also have a *radif* (cf. 2.2 above). Approximately 20 poems treat the love enjoyed theme; three of these, including this poem, Gh1 and Gh25 rhyme in ā.

Text: MR only, no variants. No emendations.

In addition to illustrating the theme of love enjoyed, this poem is also panegyric, for a patron titled Ḡiās al-Din va al-Donyā (meaning "the succoring rains of Faith and of the earth"), whom the poet praises as an upholder of justice. Mo'ezzi and others have dedicated poems to patrons with similar names, but it may have been so common that it will not be possible to ascribe with certainty to any specific ruler. A successor to the Ghurid 'Alā al-Din Ḥosayn Jahān-suz (who sacked and burnt Ghazna, c. 545/1150), was titled Ḡiās al-Din

Mohammad, but then the poem would have to be by a later poet than Sanā'i, written in the last quarter of the 6th/12th century. More plausibly, the poem might be for Ġiās al-Din Mohammad I (r. 498/1105-511/1118), who preceded Sultan Sanjar on the Seljuq throne and whom Sanā'i may have met or had occasion to praise during his sojourn in Khorasan, though it is also possible that the patron in question is a qāzi or minister.³⁹

Although the beloved admired in the *nasib* of a Persian *qaṣideh* may sometimes seem to be identified with the patron praised in the *madiḥ* section, in this particular ghazal, whoever the intended Ġiās al-Din may be, his name comes only in the very last hemistich and seems unrelated to the heart-stealer (*delbar*) who is the subject proper of the poem. Though the speaker in the poem consistently uses the first person plural (*mā*, *zanim*), it seems clear that the conventional oblique "we" (an indication of the speaker's humility) is intended; the poet here enjoys his beloved all alone, not with his companions, just as the pair of legendary lovers mentioned--Rāmin and Vis, Vāmeq and 'Adrā--enjoy one another's company in private.

The amorous encounter described here is seemingly very physical and, unlike poem 2.3, where the lovers seem to

³⁹ Three further rulers of the western Seljuq between 525/1131 and 556/1161 were known by this title, which may also have been applied to other rulers, as well as to important ministers.

embrace standing upright, the lovers in this poem are supine (5a, *bar beh xoftan*), heads filled with drink and breast flush to breast as they kiss. Here the lover, though cognizant of the possibility of separation from his beloved, is not troubled by the immediate prospect of loss; indeed, he boasts that he will enjoy tomorrow and the next day with his belle (*negārin*) even more than yesterday and today (6). He also has devised a stratagem to prevent time or fate (7a, *ruzegār*) from parting him from his love (*veṣāl* denoting the company and also the physical enjoyment of the beloved), namely by asking the patron to right such an injustice, whereas in the conventional alba poem, as we have seen, nothing can stop the inexorable arrival of the morning and love's parting.

The status of the beloved here is that of a social outcast, perhaps a prostitute, who, herself an outlaw and a thief of hearts, is nevertheless held up and ravaged by the poet. Robbing the sugar out of the lips suggests that the lips, like a closed purse, will not open to yield their contents without coercion (2). The image of robbing the lips, its repetition in the first two lines and the evident humor of the mood, suggest that it may allude to some extra-textual incident or occasion that would have been apparent to the audience and patron for whom the poem was composed.

Set 3: Poems of Suffering Love

This topos derives from, or at least shares in common with the features of, the Arabic *'udrī* ghazal. Typically, the

lover depicted in Sanā'is ghazals suffers unrequited and, indeed, the dominant topos of the Persian ghazal throughout its history is the separation from (*hejr*, *ferāq*) and longing for (*ġam*, *šowq*) the beloved. It is unclear what, if any, distinction between the various terms for the beloved (*ma'šūq*, *dust*, *yār*, *bot*, *šanam*, etc.) inheres in the poetic lexicon of the ghazal. A detailed analysis of the semiotic range of these various words as they occur within one ghazal and within the entire corpus of a single poet's ghazals, as well as in the historical development of the use of these terms is a desideratum. Once again, there is built-in ambiguity over the meaning of these poems, which can be convincingly read as poetic codes of courtly society (see set 1 above) or as mystical longing for the unattainable ideal.⁴⁰ As in the case of the wine poems (set 8), however, a shared experience of romantic, human love is presupposed, otherwise the symbolic interpretations of love would not be invested with power and immediacy. The Sufis often borrowed lines directly from profane love poetry, sometimes apparently without being able

⁴⁰ as in the case of Dante's *Beatrice*. This is true in the secular or non-mystical poetry of the Islamicate tradition, as well; for example the beloved "Fawz" of the Arabic ghazal poet, 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. c. 807, and never considered a mystic), is already every bit as much a symbol ("die Idee einer frau, die Personifikation eines Abstraktums, ein Name für die Weiblichkeit") as is the beloved of the Sufi poets. See S. Enderwitz, "Wer ist Fauz? Zur Realität der Geliebten im Arabischen Ġazal," in *Verse and the Fair Sex*, ed. F. de Jong, (Utrecht: M. The. Houtsma Tichting, 1993), 56-64.

to distinguish that the author was not, himself, a gnostic,⁴¹ which fact vividly illustrates the close connections between the imagery, topoi and anthropology underpinning the two kinds of love.

3.1

Ghazal 227

Meter: Hazaj moṣamman sālem → --- --- --- ---

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** ār **Radif:** cun bāšam **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: This rhyme (ār) is, along with ān, by far the most common in the *Divān*, appearing in more than 100 poems. There are more than 82 poems in *Hazaj sālem*, with just over half (45) in the octameter form, like this poem. In the same rhyme and meter, we find two other poems, Gh21 and Gh132, and a further four poems in the shorter hexameter--Qaṣ282, Gh87, Gh281 and Gh383, the last two of which also treat a similar theme of suffering love. Qaṣ181 and Gh245 have a similar *radif*--cun konam.

Text: MR only, two variants. No emendations.

This poem, in typical fashion, details the sufferings of the lover, who is deprived of union (*vaṣl*) with his beloved (*yār*) by the arrival of separation (*ferāq*) has split from his beloved (1). By way of a series of rhetorical questions posed in the refrain or *radif* (*cun bāšam*), the poet wonders aloud how he will live without his companion by his side. He weeps tears like rubies (i.e., blood red) and pearls and other precious stones, even though there is no treasure chest visible about him (2). In an effort to sleep, he has gone to a soothsayer or magician, who has cast a spell upon him (3). In order to make spells more efficacious, they were commonly

⁴¹ See for example, G. J. van Gelder, "Rābi'a's poem on the two kinds of love: a mystification?," in *Verse and the Fair Sex*, *ibid.*, 66-76, which argues that "Rābi'ā or rather some later mystic heard Ādam ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz's poem and 'recycled' it, changing its colour like that of recycled paper, thus bringing about the 'mystification'..." (74-75).

written down and cast into the water,⁴² as the poet suggests the magician must have done to strengthen the spell. However, the opposite effect is achieved, with the poet's sleep drowned in tears just as the charm must have sunk into the water. As in line 2, he once again compares himself to things of value, which he lacks (indeed, the lover may intend to suggest that his beloved has left him because he cannot provide sufficient luxury for her or him). The beloved's puckered mouth resembles the reddish half-dinar coin, while his own face, sallow with love sickness, looks like the gold full dinar (5). The poet knows he cannot escape the torments of his haughty and temperamental mistress and that he will always be heart-sore (4); he warns us not to expect otherwise.

The poem alludes to its own recitation setting, sung out loud, with or without music, all over town by the wakeful, wandering lover. The poet goes about complaining of his heartbreak and all the townspeople begin to yell at him, asking crossly, we can imagine, if he realizes what time it is and that he is disturbing the whole neighborhood. He offers the last line (6) by way of excuse--he is singing "this ghazal" loudly on purpose in an effort to rouse his neighbors, whom he does not feel should enjoy the comfort of sleep while he himself is deprived of it. Once again, the lines of this

⁴² See M. Omidasalar, *EIr*, s.v. "Charms." In a personal communication to me, Dr. Omidasalar has pointed out that a similar tossing of a charm into water can be found in *Vis o Rāmin*.

poem are logically related to one another, even if they do not unfold in a strictly linear narrative.

3.2

Ghazal 246

Meter: *Hazaj mosaddas axrab maqbuḏ mahḏuf* → --- 0--0- 0--

Lines: 5 **Rhyme:** āb **Radif:** binam **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: There are about 20 poems with this rhyme, more than 80 in this meter. Gh248 shares a similar *radif* and theme, as does Gh247, which also shares the meter. Rob360 has same rhyme and similar *radif*.

Text: MR only, no variants.

The rhetorical questioning of the previous poem continues in the first hemistich of this poem, which is addressed directly to the absent beloved. The poet, whose hopes that the beloved would come to him this evening were jilted, reproaches her in a tone of exasperation: How long must I suffer your torments (1a, 'aḏāb)? This is followed by a phrase that might be given as advice by a vizier to his king, but in the mouth of the lover becomes a pouting reprimand--"it would be more prudent to make peace with me" (1b).

Before closing the poem with a return to probing rhetorical reprimand in lines 4 and 5, the poet shares his painful impassioned state with the apostrophized beloved, who appears to him, like the phantasma of the ṭayf al-xiāl, only this time as a haunting image that rouses him from sleep, rather than the pleasant apparition encountered in poem 2.2. Perhaps he even sees the beloved's face in the bottom of the goblet (3a, *sātḡini*), which might be engraved or painted with her picture, so that when drinking strained or clear wine, he is always drinking, even visually, to her image and memory (in

vino venustas, one might say). C. Seltman describes the mood of the scenes depicted on Greek wine cups as either *thiasos* or *komos*, "the former bacchic revel and rout, the latter carousal and merry-making." The Greek cup had room for three illustrations, one on each panel of the outside surface, between the handles, and one in the inside center, or "tondo" of the cup. "As the guest at a Greek symposium slowly drained the cup of dark wine which had been given to him he must have gazed with no lack of pleasure at the little painting inside," which might show Dionysos or "a maenad of haunting beauty" in a *thiasos* scene, or dancing and reclining revellers in a *komos* scene.⁴³ Sasanian drinking bowls and plates frequently depicted the bust of the owner in a roundel at the center, and examples of drinking cups with the owner's name written on the outside survive from Islamic Iran, as well.⁴⁴ It is quite likely that a man might own a drinking vessel with an image of his beloved, his patron or his spiritual mentor on it, which he would take with him to a wine symposium (just as patrons kept their own pictorially personalized mugs in London taverns, or "mughouses," of the 18th century).⁴⁵

⁴³ C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957), 93-4.

⁴⁴ see R. W. Ferrier, ed., *The Arts of Persia*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), particularly chapter 5 (G. Hermann), chapter 10 (J. Allan) and chapter 13 (E. Grube and Eleanor Sims).

⁴⁵ Nezām al-Molk (*Siāsat-nāmeḥ*, 146) urges the king to arrange that the guests at royal wine symposia not have to bring their own wine or amphora (*ṣorāḥi*) with them; on the

It is to this image of the beloved, then, that the poet addresses this apostrophe. His inamorata has failed to come to the promised rendez-vous and so he drinks alone, reproaching the image of the beloved at the bottom of his wine bowl with this poem. Meanwhile, meat is roasting on the fire for their nocturnal picnic, and the poet imagines it is own heart and soul which is seared on the spit of separation.

3.3

Ghazal 244

Meter: *Ramal moḡamman mahḏuf* → -o-- -o-- -o-- -o--

Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** un **Radif:** *konam* **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: This is by far the most common meter in the *Divān*. There are about 20 poems with this rhyme. Of these four others are in the same meter: Gh115, Gh131, Gh187 and Qaṣ233. Of these, Gh187 (see Poem 3.3) shares a similar theme. Qaṣ181, Gh243, Gh245 and Rob354-5 share similar *radifs*.

Text: MR only, no variants, no emendations.

The lover in this poem addresses his co-religionists by way of self-defense (the lover also appears as plaintiff in the "complaint of love" genre), undoubtedly after the townspeople have reproached him for his outlandish behavior and objectionable demeanor.⁴⁶ He offers the excuse that he cannot cure himself of the sickness brought on by love (1) and has become an outcast, leaving the observance of Islam and social propriety behind to join the society of lovers (2-3).

contrary, the Royal Wine Steward should allow the guests to take wine home with them.

⁴⁶ The outcast is also blamed in the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah* by the 'ādīlah and in the urban Arabic ghazal, by the beloved's kinsmen or by the lover's rival.

Though these *fedele d'amore*⁴⁷ are a like-minded group, the poet is not proficient or successful in the creed or guild of love (3) and in the end winds up even more outré than these devotees of love; like the mad lover, Majnun, he dwells in the desert, with only the skittish gazelles for companions (7).⁴⁸ He must live liminally, cut off from society, in a wasteland, for the powers of song and speech granted to the poet by the demons of love who possess him (the etymology of *majnun* denotes, after all, one possessed by the *jenn*) are dangerous and might destroy the world. His reed flute could flood the land with bloody tears and the fire of his words might reduce the world to ash, images which conjure up the apocalyptic passages of the Qur'ān (e.g., Sūrah 101, 84, 82, 81, 73:14, etc.).

As in Nezāmi's version of the Layli and Majnun story, the practitioner of love (2a, 2b, 3a, 'āšeqī) might be interpreted as a mystic, searching for God, and the lovers (2a, 3a, 'āšeqān) as fellow members of his Sufi order. However, this

⁴⁷ The term was applied to the Islamic context by Henri Corbin, in his *L'Imagination créatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī* (Paris: Flammarion, 1958). See the index of Ralph Manheim's English translation, *Creative Imagination in the Sūfism of Ibn 'Arabī* (Princeton University Press, 1969).

⁴⁸ Note that *āhu* is a New Persian homonym and homograph for two distinct words, derived from Middle Persian *āhūg* meaning the gazelle, and *āhōg* meaning fault or blemish. Thus, the fact that Majnun, afflicted with the dementia of love, is kept companion by *āhovān* (the plural of *āhu*), may have a residual connotation of illness, culpability and disapproval (all meanings given under the second listing for *āhu* by Mo'in), in addition to the beautiful, skittish, and fleet-footed gazelle.

interpretation is not necessary to an understanding of medieval lovesickness,⁴⁹ and is foreign to the original Arabic Majnun story cycle. In the particular poem, the poet asserts that to embrace the neck of his beloved would restore him to self-control and make him so much the possessor of himself, that he would be able to enslave the very sky and place a collar of servitude (*ṭowq-e farmān*), as shiny as the moon, around its neck. This physical image is similar to that of the necklace (*canbar*) of embraces encountered in lines 4 and 5 of poem 2.1 and disinclines one from reading the poem as mystic longing.

3.4

Ghazal 187

Meter: *Ramal mosaddas mahdūf* → - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - -

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** un **Radif:** *bud duš* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: See poem 3.3 above (Gh244), which is in the same rhyme and meter. Qaṣṣ94 (poem 6.5) and Gh189 are in the same meter and have similar *radifs* and opening themes.

Text: MR only. one variant. no emendations.

Unlike the previous three poems in this set, all of which are immediate outbursts of the poet's solitary nocturnal sufferings, here the speaker's pain is recalled and already sublimated to an extent. In the morning's light the poet is no longer in the throes of his pain and can look on the tortuous night as an event of the past, one which will hopefully never be repeated. Indeed, the poem closes with an oath or prayer (6) in the last line, echoing the *do'ā* passage,

⁴⁹ see M. Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum and its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1990).

or calling down of blessings on the patron, that would be expected in the last lines of a *qaṣīdeh*. The phrasing of the refrain--*bud duš*, literally "it was last night"--makes the poet assume an air of confidence that the beloved only failed to appear last night, but will not leave him once again in the lurch tonight or any other night.

As the poet suffered the attack of lovesickness, he shed tears of blood that flowed into a mighty river just as his heart burned with hell fire (1-2). Notice the sound play in these lines, which are replete with alliteration, assonance and consonance: *bar man az 'ešqat šabixun bud duš/...cešmam gaṭreh-ye xun bud duš* (1) and *dar del az 'ešq-e to duzax minomud/dar kenār az diḍeh jayhun bud duš*. The poet was left alone without the resplendent orb of the beloved's face and had only the moon in the sky as the companion of his seclusion (4). Since the passage of time is reckoned by the movements of the moon and stars, the poet now reflects on how he the night before did not seem to be part of his allotted days on earth (5).

The intriguing line in this poem is line 3, which may give some hint as to the social setting for this poem (though it is possible to read the poem as a "simple" love poem). The poem is addressed to the beloved throughout, who is known only by *to* (thou) or the post-enclitic *-at* (thy, thine), as the lover details for him/her his sufferings. Only in line 3 is an epithet or description of any sort applied to this "thou;"

here we find that this "thou" is a wealthy or powerful person (*tavāngar*). S/he is said to possess a wealth of beauty like Korah (*Qārūn*), who is proverbial for his great treasures, the keys of which would be a heavy weight for even strong men to bear (Q:28:76). The parable of *Qārūn*, who in the Haggadic literature is a kinsman of Moses, is provided in the Hebrew Bible (Numbers 16:1-35) and the *Qur'ān* (28:76-82), where his pride and jealousy cause him to forget God, act haughtily and behave corruptly, on account of which God caused *Qārūn* and his house and his party to be swallowed up by an earthquake. It may be to avoid this inauspicious allusion that the symbol of Korah is applied both to the beloved, who is said to have a treasure-house of beauty (*jamāl*), while the lover (*'āšeq*) is said to have become a Korah through his love for this richly beautiful beloved (3). Just as Korah could not enjoy his wealth, so the lover cannot enjoy his beloved. This second hemistich, on its surface, means that the lover had a superabundance of love for you, but could also suggest that the poet/lover became wealthy (i.e., was richly rewarded) through his love (i.e., poetry) for the patron. Once again invited to the patron's *soirée*, the poet is happy, but chagrined for having not been invited last night.

3.5

Ghazal 259

Meter: *Hazaj moṣamman axrab makfuf maḥḍuf*

→ --- 0--- 0--- 0---

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** *ām* **Radif:** *gereftim* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: There are about 80 poems in this meter and 40 poems in this rhyme. Of these, only Gh91 shares both meter and rhyme; in addition, its theme is rather similar. Three

poems have the similar *radif* of *gereft*: Gh73, Qaṣ54 (which is more a ghazal than a *qaṣideh*) and a strophe from a *tarkib-band* (DS, 722).

Text: MR only, two variants. No emendations.

The "we" in this poem should not be taken as the indirect "we" of humility encountered in Poem 2.5. Rather, this "we" (indicated by the conjugation of the verbal *radif*, *gereftim*, as well as the verb in 2a, *gaštīm*, and the first person plural pronoun *mā* in line 4a and 6a) suggests the ethos of an anthem for the lonely hearts battalion (1b, *ṣaf-e del-suxteḡān*), rather than the pain of a solitary lovesick poet. Indeed, the poem shares as many traits in common with the school of love (set 15), the Sufi anthem (set 12) and even the wine poems (set 8), as it does with the topos of suffering love, but I have included it here to demonstrate that this topos need not always appear in the guise of personal lyricism.

This poem can convincingly be read as a Sufi anthem, addressed directly to the *pir* or shaykh of the order from the mouth of his disciples. The disciples are arranged by rank in this order (*ṣaf-e del-suxteḡān*) and are stationed in "your" lane--waiting for the object of desire to step out of his house and into sight (1). The heated obsession with "you" has burned the lovers, as does the fiery wine of the tavern or ruins (*xarābāt*), situated in the topographical imagination on the outskirts of town--an unsocialized if not uncivilized region--and beyond the pale of religion (the Qur'ān forbids

alcohol), where only the dregs of society would go.⁵⁰ Those who frequent these ruins are social outcasts to begin with and, in this particular poem, the speaking "we" have taken up a place only in the corner of the ruins (2b, *dar konj-e xarābāt*), rejected by or deliberately foregoing even the society of the social out-group to which they properly belong, and drink only raw, or uncute, wine (*may-ye xām*).⁵¹ They were unable to integrate with the socially respectable religious institutions of the theological schools (*madraseh*) or the seminaries (*şowme'eh*), and instead haunt the wine tavern (*may-kadeh*) and its drinking benches (*maşṭabeh*, 3).

At this point (line 4), the poem takes a detour from the rather logical narrative thread it was following, and moves away from the topic of wine. This line (4) is still addressed directly to "thou," the idol (*şanam*), or spiritual master, who, however, as is clear in the final line (6), is "today" no

⁵⁰ The association with ruins also reinforces the connection between Zoroastrianism and pre-Islamic Iran. The Zoroastrians (or Christians) are permitted to make and drink wine; indeed, *haoma* was a part of the Zoroastrian religious rituals. Reveling in the ruins of the Iranian past, such as the famous ruined palace of the Sasanian ruler Khosrow (*ivān kesrā*), tints the drinking of wine with an effort to forget the sorrows of the past, or to re-establish the glory of the past, by stepping outside of the current reigning boundaries and strictures of Islam.

⁵¹ For the social and religious significance of raw versus cooked food, see C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked: An Introduction to a Science of Mythology*, trans. J. and D. Weightman, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969). He sees "culinary operations" in primitive mythology as "mediatory activities between heaven and earth, life and death, nature and society" (66).

longer physically present with the speaker(s) of the poem. It is thus a reflection on what the spiritual master has taught the disciples, or rather, what the disciples have heuristically learned from their experience of love for and loss of the master.⁵² They realize that, their yearning for the physical beauty(mark) (*xāl*) of the beloved has led them into the trap of love-madness, a state exile or liminality from society, symbolized by the beloved's cap (*kolah*), or the wool that has been pulled over their eyes. Content (*beh āsāyeš*) during the brief span (*yek cand*) they were in his presence (*vaṣl*), the disciples had believed that their beloved master would be always with them, and so they always drank settled, or cute wine (*bādeh-ye āsudeh*, 5). Whether by this is meant wine that has been diluted, strained of dregs or mulled, it is clearly the wine of commensality and joy, as opposed to the raw wine of line 2, which is the un-sublimated, un-cooked, un-filtered wine of asocialized anguish.

The final line speaks of the beloved master in the third person--he has been cut off from our company. This change of pronoun signals the speakers' reintegration into the present. They are no longer nostalgically and liminally reliving the

⁵² The spiritual guide intended here may be Borhān al-Dīn Beryāngar, a preacher at Baghdad, who is mentioned in a verse post-script to the *Hadiqat* (744-7) and to whom allusion may be made in several poems in the *Divān*, i.e., Gh22, 201, 279 and Qas75. In the *Hadiqat* (744) Sanā'i appeals to the former close friendship between the two, complains of Borhān's distance in Baghdad and tells him that he has not been forgiven for his long absence from the side of the poet.

past, but have contextualized and incorporated their experience, which they fatalistically attribute, in an almost anti-climactic summation or rationalization of their situation, to the vicissitudes of their pre-destined fate (literally, the company of fate, *ṣoḥbat-e ayyām*).⁵³

Set 4: The Complaint of Love

The principle difference between the suffering lover and the complaining lover is his mood; in the complaint of love, the poet is exasperated or indignant, rather than submissive to the beloved, and rebukes or reminds her of the treatment he expects and deserves for loving faithfully. This genre is often dīcanīc, assuming the form of a legal complaint or a public denunciation, sometimes addressed to the assembled populace or friends of the poet and sometimes directly to the beloved. The complaint of love also occurs as a shorter topos within other sub-genres of the ghazal, as well as in the *qaṣīdeh*; one encounters it in well over one hundred different poems in the *Divān* of Sanā'ī. It appears that Sanā'ī sometimes addressed this kind of language to his patrons, asking them under the guise of a wronged lover, for better rewards or better treatment.

⁵³ This parallels the phrasing of the first hemistich, *ṣoḥbat-e mā*, and is therefore preferable to the over-determined variant reading *mehnat-e ayyām*, "the tribulations of fate."

Meter: *Hazaj mosaddas maḥḍuf* → ٠--- ٠--- ٠---

Lines: 12 **Rhyme:** *ār* **Radif:** *dāri* **Taxalloṣ:** last line

Similar Poems: Of the more than 80 poems in the plain *hazaj* (epitritic) meter, less than half (33) are hexameter (*mosaddas*) in length. Gh21, 87, 132, 281, 227 (see poem 3.1) all share the same rhyme and meter (though some are octameter). Gh87 also shares a similar *radif* (*dārad*), and Qaṣṣ282, which is really a mystical-didactic ghazal, holds not only the same meter (hexameter) and rhyme in common, but the same *radif*, as well. Gh384-5 also share the *radif* (*dāri*), but not the rhyme or meter.

Text: MR no variants, Kabul 548 has variants in 4b, 5b, 6b, 11a, 11b, 12a. The Kabul readings in 4b, 6b, 11a-b and 12a have been adopted.

This poem is a fairly straightforward litany of remonstrance addressed directly to the beloved "thou," who is twice qualified by an epithet throughout the twelve lines of the poem--*ay jān-e jahān-am* ("O life of my world," 4a) and *ay māh* ("o moon," 8a)--and indirectly ascribed a term of endearment (4a, *'aziz*). The poem could be read either as a simple love poem--perhaps a musical divertimento--or as a veiled complaint to a patron who has not been treating the poet well or allowing him to appear at court (12, "From now on, you ought to consider Sanā'i worthy of your congress [*vaṣl*]). In any case, the mood is rather light, despite the warning in the penultimate line of eternal damnation on the Judgement Day for those who are unmerciful, an atmosphere that is in part established by the stereophonic echo of the rhyme (**ār*) with the *radif* (*dāri*).

Meter: *Hazaj moṣamman axrab makfuf maḥduf*

→ --o o--o o--o o--

Lines: 9 **Rhyme:** ā'i **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** opening line

Similar Poems: There are about 25 poems in this rhyme, five others in the same meter (Gh367-9 and Qaṣ269 and 271). None of the poems in this rhyme and meter has a *radif*; all of them take advantage of the matching meter and rhyme to place the poet's pen-name (*Sa-nā-'i*, ---) in the rhyme position at the end of the line. Only four of the 25 poems with this rhyme do not include the *taxalloṣ* (Gh13, Gh38, Qaṣ12 and Qeṭ28). Five other poems in this rhyme share the complaint of love theme (Gh51, 277, 365, 368 and 370) of which one (Gh368) is also in the same meter.

Text: MR only, one variant. Read o z-in instead of va v-in in 6a.

The poet suffers, like Jacob, in his love for the lost "Joseph of the Age" (1; cf. Gh159:6 for a further example of this common simile, and Poem 7.4 below). Once again, by this male beloved is quite likely intended a spiritual master, as in poem 3.5. While perhaps not lost, like the Joseph of the Qur'ān, this beloved is inconstant (like the moon), dawning (like the sun) dressed in a new guise every day (2). For example, he bows low (*sajdeh*) one day to a pack of knaves (*moṣṭi dun rā*, 3a), and the next day he is exalted to the station of divinity (3b). All are as beggars before this beloved, not daring to raise their eyes to meet his, for fear of offending him (4). In his presence (*vaṣl*), it is most unwise to hope that the anima (*jān*) will be released from its love/entanglement in the curls of his hair (5). Indeed, the beloved is a magical cipher for the transcendence of the soul or for the divine, and no one can pinpoint this transcendent essence within the physical form of the beloved (6). Not only

is the beloved a magician, then, hiding this essence, but he is a rare paradox, in that he belongs to all, though all are searching, as in a mystic quest, for his inner reality (7).

Herein, then, lies the poet's complaint. The beloved is the soul/anima or mystical truth, which though available to all, has not yet been found, for it is a hidden truth, residing within our own being or within the ideal object of love and contemplation--the Joseph of the Sufi quest (the ephebe or beautiful boy, *pesar-e xub*, of 8b)--who is, however, unattainable or lost (perhaps also like the *Mahdi* of the Shiites in poem 7.4). The poet, in apostrophe to this absent ideal object of the soul, therefore asks why the perfect beauty, the Joseph of desire, hides himself when, in the station of *towhid* (divine unity),⁵⁴ all of us (i.e., those who quest for you) are identical to you and you to us (8). The poet resigns himself in the final line to the fact that he can never attain this perfect ideal and thus his complaint is the eternal complaint of the human condition. Man must forever go in search of the transcendent ideal, because he cannot be without it and it will not come to him if he stands still and makes no efforts (9).

⁵⁴ Though the concept of *towhid* outwardly refers to the Islamic insistence on the singular reality of God (as opposed to the triune God of the early Christian councils) and connotes true belief in the one God, here it begins to sound like the pantheistic unity (*wahdat al-wujūd*) attributed to Ibn 'Arabī or to the Hindu concept of Brahma, which transcends the contingent world of illusion or *māya*.

Meter: *Monsareh mogamman maṭvi manhur* → - 0 0 - - 0 0 - - 0 0 - -
Lines: 5 **Rhyme:** ār **Radif:** nay-arzad **Taxalloṣ:** none
Similar Poems: Though this is one of the two most common rhymes in the *Divān* (ān is the other), none of the other 23 poems in this meter share the same rhyme. There is only one other similar *radif* (arzad in Rob179). A few other poems in this meter share the complaint of love theme (Gh23, 327).
Text: MR only, 2 variants. The variant reading is accepted in 4b.

In a humorous cost-benefit analysis, this poem renounces the conventional role assigned to the pining poet-lover, claiming that the pleasures of love (like going to a crowded amusement park) are not worth its tribulations. The first three lines are formulated impersonally, as maxims, while in the fourth, it becomes clear, after all, that the poet has been obliquely reproaching the beloved (*ferāq-at*, parting from you, 4a), who has made the game of love intolerable for him. Note that in line 2a, congress or intercourse with the beloved (*vaṣl*) is interrupted by periods (*qā'edeh*) of separation; though on the surface this refers to the periods of meeting and parting that lovers must endure, it may also suggest the double-entendre of the female beloved's menstrual period (*qā'edeh*), which, because of ritual impurity, would make coitus illicit from the standpoint of Islamic (or Jewish) law.

The speaker continues weighing the credits and debits of love and, at the end of the day (reading in 5a *ruz šavad* adverbially, "as the day closes/goes"; note however that it might also be read as the day arrives, indicating that the poet has been awake all night trying to tabulate the results

of his transaction) realizes that there is no profit in being a lover, as the griefs of the beloved outweigh the gains.

4.4

Ghazal 105

Meter: *Mojtass moṣamman maxbun maḥḍuf* (aṣlam)

→ 0-0- 00-- 0-0- (00)-

Lines: 10 **Rhyme:** *izad* **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** antepenult

Similar Poems: There are 32 other poems in *mojtass*, the vast majority of which (25), like this poem, do not have a *radif*. There are a handful of other poems in this rhyme, all of them *robā'is*. Gh388 and Qaṣ308 (for Bahrāmšāh) are the only other poems in this meter treating a very similar subject matter (Qeṭ39 does too, but this poem is by Moxtāri and was mistakenly included in Sanā'i's *Divān*).⁵⁵ Both Sa'di and Hāfez have ghazals in the same rhyme that seem to have in mind as a model this poem by Sanā'i.⁵⁶

Text: MR only, 9 variants, no emendations.

This is the only poem in the complaint of love set that is not directly addressed in the second person to the offending beloved (though in 4.3, as we saw, it only became clear in the fourth line that the proverb-like lines were addressed to "you"). Here the complaint is made to the friends of the poet, or perhaps to a wider audience, though it is also tinged with awe and admiration for the powers of the beloved, who might be a spiritual guide (like the Zen masters, subtly abusing his disciple) or a monarch. The scriptural allusion in line 6b (*hal min mazīd*, Qur'ān 50:30, in which God asks Hell if it is filled with inmates and Hell questions in reply, "are there yet more?") and the fact that Sanā'i tells us the poem is in imitation of a "ghazal" by Bu Sa'id (i.e.,

⁵⁵ *Divān-e Moxtāri*, ed. Homā'i, 594n1.

⁵⁶ *Kolliāt-e Sa'di*, op. cit., 3:136 (Gh187) and *Divān-e Hāfez*, op. cit., 318 (Gh151).

the mystic Abu Sa'id ebn Abi al-Xayr), leaves us to assume the beloved described is a spiritual preceptor.⁵⁷ I have not been able to find any verse beginning *marā deli-st keh bā 'āfiat nay-āmizad* in *Asrār al-towhid*, but it seems unlikely that Sanā'i would mistakenly ascribe this poem with such certainty to Bu Sa'id if it was not popularly believed to be by him. This fact constitutes further evidence for the points made in Chapters One and Three about the recitation and transmission of ghazals--though they do not always survive to the present day in written form, yet they were preserved and transmitted by musicians, poets and especially Sufis, in oral form.

The beloved here is accused of being fickle and quarrelsome. Though the poet realizes this, he is unable to turn away his affections and must, therefore, endure the torments of his high-handed behavior. The beloved is also quite jealous, making the poet cry by mixing a stinging collyrium for him (8) and by making him feel it is a sin to look on anything but the beloved (9). Logically, one feels

⁵⁷ Note that the unmetrical variant reading *še'r-e* to given as a manuscript alternative to *ġazal-e* to betrays the scribal uncertainty over the nature of the poem. Bu Sa'id was known as a writer of quatrains (*robā'i*), not of ghazals; this later scribe, for whom *ġazal* denotes the fixed form rather than the earlier amorphous meaning of the word we encountered in chapter one, *ġazal* as love poetry vis-a-vis panegyre (*madh*), supplies the incorrect reading, "verse" (*še'r*). There is one other Abu Sa'id or Bu Sa'id mentioned in some manuscripts of Sanā'i's *Divān*, a qāzi of Herat who may have been the intended recipient of Qaṣ244, and an Abu Naṣr Aḥmad ebn Sa'id (Qaṣ295), but it does not appear either of these Sa'ids is intended in this poem.

the poem would develop more naturally if the order of line 8 and line 9 were reversed, as line 9 provides the direct answer to the riddle posed in line 7 about why the eyes weep, whereas line 8 appears to provide a secondary explanation, and also contains Sanā'i's *taxalloṣ*, which would provide a nice transition to the final line, which identifies the model on which the poem is based.

In any case, the poem ends with the reader focussed on the same image with which the poem opened: that of the eyes (lines 1, 3, and 7-9). At the end of the poem, though, our gaze comes to rest upon the poets' weeping eyes, and not the haughty, sassy eyes of the beloved. This continuity of the image is reinforced aurally, with the last word of the last hemistich ending on a similar form of the same word (1b, *nay-āmizad*) as encountered in the last word of the first hemistich (10b, *n-āmizad*).

4.5

Ghazal 370

Meter: *Hazaj axrab makfuf mahduf* → --o o-o- o--

Lines: 10 **Rhyme:** ā'i **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** last line

Similar Poems: Gh365 in the same rhyme and meter with an identical theme appears to be an earlier version of this poem. Though the phrasing of 365:5b/370:1a is almost identical, there is enough significant difference to discount that these are versions of the same poem handed down to us in corrupted form by the manuscript tradition. Gh299 in the same meter, rhyming in ā, treats the same theme and uses several of the same rhyme words (*āšnā*, *jodā*, *riā*). A dozen of the 80+ poems in this meter treat a similar theme.

Text: MR, 12 variants. Following the variant, read *beh mardomi* instead of *xod hami* in 2b.

The lover waits for his newly-met inamorata to meet him for their first appointed tryst, but he is left in the lurch,

staring impatiently into the black night (6), trying to discern some sign of the beloved's arrival. He begins castigating the absent beloved, who is likely a prostitute by trade, calling him/her a craftsman of cruelty (1a, *pišeh-ye to jafā-nomā'i*), and wondering where s/he is and what has delayed her (1b). Sarcastically, he begins to suggest an alternative rendez-vous--if it is too much trouble for you to come in person (2b, *beh mardomi*, gentleman-like, but also in human form), then send your apparition my way some evening (2a, we have already encountered the apparition or *ṭayf al-xiāl* in 2.2 and 3.2). Next he selects a maxim from the code of honor of the disreputable--one should not cheat on the first round when gambling with a friend (3)--another indication that this is his first date with this paramour. He urges the beloved to put off her unfriendly airs, for he knows her (9), by which we are to understand both that they have previously met to contract this encounter, and that the poet knows what class of person he is dealing with. To reinforce this angry thought, he says he knows the beloved is no *harif* (companion, host, consort, 5a), meaning that s/he is something less than that, a hetaera. But his affectionate feelings return and he immediately regrets this insinuation, and so tries to gloss over it--"that is, you can't be my companion when you're not by my side" (5b). Then comes another sarcastic comment, a self-conscious allusion to the alba theme, in which the lovers must part at the light of dawn after having enjoyed one

another through the night; he wonders aloud how long he will have to stare into the darkness of separation, never yet having been illumined by the beloved's presence (6). He is tasting the pain of separation before ever knowing the pleasures of union.

Of course, he has been addressing himself to the air, for his partner is absent. Having somewhat assuaged his anger with these words, he now enumerates the qualities of the awaited beloved, trembling with anticipation (note that all the first hemistichs from this point forward--7a, 8a, 9a and 10a--end in the same letter): one who is sensuously beautiful, and sexually available, making the penitents of abstinence break their vows (7) and thereby upsetting the schemes of the hypocritically pious men who urged them to those vows (8). Finally, realizing that some busy-body may have spoiled their love-nest by threatening the beloved and claiming that s/he is an improper match for the poet (9b, the beloved is assumed to be a prostitute or person of questionable morals; the poet's friends and kinfolk would dissuade him from this disreputable match), the poet now curses this supposed interloper (9a). Having countered in his soliloquy such gossip or remonstrance as may have caused the beloved to think twice about meeting with him, the poet once again returns to the theme of the beloved's cruelty (*jafā*), with which the poem opened, reaffirming his affection (10b)

and appealing for better treatment (10a), which would, of course, mean that the beloved keep the promised tryst.⁵⁸

Set 5: Homoerotic Love

There are more than a hundred poems which treat the theme of love for a boy, either briefly or at length, in Sanā'i's *Divān*, almost a dozen of which evoke the topos with some form of the refrain "ay pesar" (o boy).⁵⁹ Translators to European languages still rarely translate the poems with the proper gender of beloved, but scholars have recently begun to agree that such poems are, indeed, homoerotic.⁶⁰ As in the case of wine poems and love poems in which the beloved is female or, more commonly genderless, in the specifically homoerotic poems, the beloved serves a mythic and symbolic function, but this function is founded on a real sub-stratum of physical attraction and the active pederastic attention of older males to younger ones.⁶¹

⁵⁸ The manuscript tradition provides this variant for the final hemistich: *āzād be-zī to bā Sanā'i* (live freely with Sanā'i).

⁵⁹ Qas5, Gh158-165, Gh185.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the features of the homoerotic theme, see C. M. Naim, "The Theme of Homosexual (Pederastic) Love in Pre-Modern Urdu Poetry," in *Studies in the Urdu Gazal and Prose Fiction*, ed. M. U. Memon, South Asian Studies Publication Series, 5, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1979), 120-42, and Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 245ff.

⁶¹ Meisami (*ibid.*, 247) is mistaken in assuming that homoerotic poetry in the Persian, as opposed to the Arabic, tradition is "idealizing" and not "salacious" in tone. There are cases in the *qaṣīdehs* and *qeṭ'ehs*, and to a lesser extent, in a few of the ghazals, of Sanā'i, where the beloved boy is

The fetish with facial hair displayed in these poems is distinct from but complementary to the fascination with the hair of the head of the beloved (see set 1). Ancient Greek vases depict many scenes in which bearded men approach male youths, fondling their chins with one hand and their genitals with the other. Perhaps the chin is touched to determine the stage of physical development--once the adolescent is bearded, he can no longer play the role of *eromenos*, or passive partner, to the lover, *erastes*. This may have been backed up by legal penalties, but would surely, in any case, bring derision upon the adult *eromenos*, as innumerable verses of Persian flyting poetry, in which one poet brags of having sodomized another, attest.⁶²

The *šāhed* of Persian ghazal poetry bears a striking resemblance to the ephebe of ancient Athens. He is the "witness" of the divine beauty, or of the perfect beauty in

desired and enjoyed in the lewdest possible manner; e.g., Qas126, 176, 201 and 283; Gh298; Qet17, 59, 61, 67, 118, 131 and 146; Rob11. Qeṭ32 provides us with an invective on Balkh:
 There are so many ass-givers and sluts in Balkh
 that its cognoscenti don't know male from female.
 A Balkhi encourages his boys from youth
 to give ass, play tambourines and prattle--
 Hence the nickname "The Dome," for you'll find nothing
 but ridicule, libertines and buggered boys under
 the dome.

⁶² See the numerous recent works on (homo)sexuality in ancient Greece, such as K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); E. Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, trans. C. Ó Cuilleánáin, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); and E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), especially chapter 11.

the Platonic world of ideas. He is often addressed as boy (*pesar*), or sometimes as *golām*, as Joseph is called in the Qur'ān (Q12:19), where it is clear he was sold with the intention of being turned into a slave.⁶³ He is purchased in Egypt, but treated as a son, not as a catamite, though the man's wife, seduced by Joseph's beauty, does try to seduce him. Thus there is a tension within the Islamic tradition over the sexual or non-sexual affection for the handsome boy, reflected in the Persian poet/lover's affection for the Saqi, and in the Sufi disciple's love for his master, as well as the master's love of the young initiate.

The warrior-beloved is also a common topos of Persian poetry. Such a warrior is typically youthful, and quite probably a Turk. The poet assumes the persona of an older man pining for the youth and vigor of this adolescent champion, a member of an ethnic group originally brought into the Islamic world as slaves, but now ruling the Ghaznavid and Saljuqid empires.⁶⁴ The beloved then, is something of a combination of desirable commodity, purchased as a slave to do one's bidding, while at the same time, holding powerful sway over the speaker. The beloved has the stature and wealth to give

⁶³ The travellers who discover him in the well are very pleased to find this "boy" (*golām* is also used repeatedly to describe the son given to Abraham and Sarah in their old age), and keep him concealed, as merchandise *biżā'atan*, which as the narrator suggests, was an action condemned by God.

⁶⁴ See Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine and Wine-Drinking", op. cit.

banquets, at which he is imagined, aglow with inebriation, proffering the wine goblet; he also has the power to wage war, in which case he is imagined wearing armor.

5.1

Ghazal 373

Meter: *Xafif mosaddas sālem al-ṣadr maxbun abtar* (or *maḥḍuf*)

→ - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - (0) -

Lines: 10 **Rhyme:** *āti* **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** last line

Similar Poems: There are over 120 poems in this meter. Only one other poem has the same rhyme (Gh374), and it is in a different meter (*hazaj*). See Poem 9.4 for an inversion of the theme.

Text: MR only, 12 variants but no emendations.

This poem is a humorous narrative of a boy who has converted to piety after having been an ephebe of the poet. Normally it is age and the growth of coarse facial hair, as we have seen, that puts a halt to the homoerotic or pederastic relationship. In this case, however, it is religion. The boy who gambled and drank and fabricated chapter and verse, because he had not even learned by heart the shortest suras of the Qur'ān, like *al-Tīn* (Q95, "the Fig," which has only eight verses and all told about 35 words), reciting these forgeries on all occasions as one recites "*al-Ḥamd*" (Q1, "the Praise," otherwise known as *al-Fātiḥah*, the opening seven verses of the Qur'ān), which everyone knows by heart, on ritual occasions, such as funerals); this boy, who had obviously also provided sexual favors to the poet, has been reborn and taken a vow of celibacy.

The poet has tried to prevail upon him for a kiss and been rudely rebuffed (7a, once again, at night, *duṣ*, the time when the lover's sufferings are greatest), with the boy

swearing to God that he will not kiss such a drunkard (9b, *xarābāti*), which is exactly how the boy himself has been first described to us (1a). The poem closes with some advice given by a friend to Sanā'i, who shares the poet's admiration for the boy (10a), employing Arabic phrases, presumably so the boy will not understand exactly what is being said about him, and advises Sanā'i to accept his kismet (10b, *gesmat*), for *che sarā sarā*.

5.2

Ghazal 375

Meter: *Sari' mosaddas maṭvi maksuf* → - - - - -

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** *ixti* **Radif:** none **Taxalloḡ:** last line

Similar Poems: Prosodically, this poem could be read as rhyming in *ixt* with the *radif* -i, but because the "i" is the second person singular conjugation of the verb and is thus morphologically part of the word, I have treated it as a bi-syllabic rhyme, lacking a *radif*. Most of the nine other poems rhyming in *ixt*, *ixteh* or *ixtam* (Gh23-24, 213, 350, 363 and Rob33) treat the theme of the hair on the head or face of the beloved. There are twenty poems in this meter, which Sanā'i seems to employ primarily in occasional poems (*qeṭ'eh*) and in poems with a wine or *galandari* theme. Cf., however, Gh174 on suffering love and Gh364 (poem 13.3) about a shepherd boy rejected from entering Sanā'i's Sufi order, both in *sari'*.

Text: MR 5 lines, two variants. Kabul ms 584. Read bar for *bā* as per Kabul ms in 5a. Line 6 is provided by Kabul ms.

The lover complains that the beloved has grown the beginnings of beard, which he likens to black civet (a pomade) being rubbed on ivory (skin, 1a) or to black ants crawling across the bright surface of the moon (1b, the moon being a traditional metaphor for the beloved's face). In other words, this heart-stealing idol has sprinkled his rosy cheeks with black musk (the hair is always fragrant and earthy), as an apothecary might prepare a perfume, but all to spite the would-be lover (2b, *raḡm-e marā*). The beloved has caused a

debate, a legal disputatio (*ra'y o merā*) over the status of his permissibility as a sexual object (3), spurring the forces of the dark night (the stubble clouding the surface of his skin) into contention with the bright light of day (the beloved's face). Alternatively, one might also understand the line (but with some grammatical difficulty) to be a reproach addressed by the lover to the beloved: "A bright day for all to see (*be-ra'y*) and you spurred me on (*marā...bar angixti*) [to leave] with the pretense that "the night grows dark." In any case, the lover longs for the bright daylight and the smooth, fair skin that proves the ephebe is a licit object of sexual affection, whereas the hair on his face reveals that he is physically mature, casting a shadow over the prospect of enjoying him sexually.

Continuing the brilliant play of colors, the poet/lover now contemplates his own complexion, which is streaked with carnelian (bloody) tears and gold (sallow cheeks, a sign of love-sickness), since his ephebe has spread jet (*šabah*, a kind of semi-precious stone, used in antiquity as a talisman on necklaces)⁶⁵ on his silver (*sim*, his bright, sterling face, 4). The lover, who has gambled his heart on the eternal youth of this ephebe, now sees that time has cruelly beaten him and

⁶⁵ See G. F. Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1913), 39, 91-2. He cites a Greek Lapidary of the 4th century A.D., which notes a stone called opsianos, possibly jet, as a protection for those travelling by sea and river. It was also used talismanically by paleolithic Europeans and by the Pueblo Indians.

fate has brought him disaster, actions which, however, he transfers to and blames on the ephebe, whom he is addressing (5). The beloved ephebe has abandoned the lover, carrying off his heart's patience and his ability to cope, as well as, perhaps, trinkets or gifts of value, such as poetry, which the lover, in wooing, has bestowed upon him.

Note that the penultimate and the last lines echo portions of the rhyming syllables (5a, *āxti* and 6a, *i*), as is not infrequently the case in Sanā'is ghazals, near the beginning (in hemistich 2a for example) or end the poem.

5.3

Ghazal 117

Meter: *Ramal moṣamman maḥḍuf* → - - - - -

Lines: 14 **Rhyme:** ar **Radif:** *konad* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: See poem 2.2 on this meter and rhyme. Gh305 shares the meter, a similar *radif* and the theme of homoerotic love. Gh394-5 also focus on homoerotic love in this meter and rhyme. Gh315 in a different meter but with a similar *radif* (*mi-koni*) treats the same theme as well. There are seven other poems with this *radif* and six others with the negative form (*na-konad*).

Text: MR edition only. None of five variants incorporated.

Another colorful lament on the appearance of facial hair on the ephebe, here called *ma'šūq* (1a), the object of love. He has dangled a band or necklace of ambergris (dark fragrant hair) about the moon (his face, 1) and sprinkled a picture with powdered musk on the sun, or, as it were, sifted ambra on the tulips of his cheeks (2). This spells the imminent end of their relationship and the poet remarks on the visible layer of rust on the rosy cheeks of his ephebe, which means that dark coarse hair (violets) will soon bloom on his white, jessamine-like cheeks, perhaps even this year (3), which the

poet attributes to the desire of the beloved to cover his lily-perfect skin with a veil of verdant, spiky peppermint (*sisanbar*), as an antidote to the evil eye (5).⁶⁶

While this may protect the ephebe from the desires of his *erastes*, all those who love him will be helpless when the fresh fine line of hair above his ruby lips (*yāqut*) turns dark purple, like the *nenuphar* (6). This being so, one must seize the day and enjoy the boy today (*carpe diem et carpe puellum*); the poet therefore calls for wine and a toast to the sight of him, before Time (*ruzegār*) turns him into a punishment (6, i.e., before he becomes mature and therefore illicit as an object of sexual desire, as well as the sense that time will punish him, like Andrew Marvell's coy mistress, by destroying his beauty). Now comes the toast and the poet cheers the lips, teeth and nectar of his mouth (7); the powerful magic of his eyes (8); and the beauty of his face, which even angels would envy (9).

At this point (10), the poet calls attention to the rhetorical structure of his toast and consciously turns from the vision of this "heart-stealer by whom I have described the qualities of my love" (*in conin delbar keh goftam dar šefāt-e 'ešq-e man*), a phrase which makes us wonder if this ideal beloved was a fantasy, or if the ephebe who is being toasted has been described with the stereotypical beauties the poetic

⁶⁶ On the evil eye in the Iranian tradition, see E. Šakurzādeh and M. Omidšalar, *EIr*, s.v. "Čašm-zakm."

beloved is supposed to possess. The poet's love for this ideal ephebe has burned and melted the poet, plucking his heart-strings, just like the incense that scents the wine symposium, the sugar that sweetens the food, and the musician who plays in accompaniment to the recitation of the poem (11). Love oppresses the lover, just as the beloved's lips are tightly pursed (11a); his pining emaciates him, making him as thin as the ruddy-cheeked beloved's dark hair (11b, an allusion back to 2b). Love has unsettled the lover and tosses him about in the air like dust, while streaking his sallow, saffron-colored face with a stream of tears (13, saffron mixed with water is poured over Persian rice as coloring and flavoring).

The poem closes, not in a toast, but in a cry for help to the poet's assembled compatriots to release him from the pains of love brought on by the coy stratagems of the beloved, which, either because the beloved is merely an ideal fantasy, or because time has rendered him over-age, deny the fulfillment of the poet's desires, just as the wall/dam (*sadd*) of Alexander (14) kept out the barbarian tribes of Gog and Magog (Q18:94-99). Though God helped Alexander (*Dū al-garnayn*) to build this massive wall with iron and molten lead such that no being could dig under or crawl over it, God has

the final power to turn it to dust on the Judgement Day, at which point the waves of people will surge over it.⁶⁷

5.4

Ghazal 193

Meter: *Xafif mosaddas sālem al-šadr maxbun abtar* (or *mahduf*)
→ - 0 - - 0 - 0 - (0 0) -

Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** uš **Radif:** none **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: Of the more than 120 poems in this meter, and the approximately twenty poems in this rhyme, only one other poem (Qeṭ3) shares both meter and rhyme. There are five other poems in this rhyme that treat homoerotic love at length (Gh161, 164, 321-2 and Qaṣ153). The dressing and admiration of the hair are themes treated in other poems rhyming in uš (see 1.2 above).

Text: MR+Kabul 584, no emendations.

The fetish for the twirled hair behind the ears has been previously encountered (1.2), though in a homoerotic context, one could read this, rather than a ceremonial dressing of the hair, as the appearance of coarse, twisted hair on the jaw just in front of the earlobe and on the back and shoulders (1), the sign of masculine maturity and the termination of the status of ephebe. As the boy's jaw line ('ārež) is covered with musky hair (*ḡālieh-puš*, 3b), the poet loses patience and consciousness (2). The boyish beauty of the beloved has been eclipsed, like the moon in the sky, which causes a commotion among the people (4, there are references in Persian literature to villagers beating copper pans to protect themselves during solar eclipses). In a reprise of the thematics of the alba, the poet now tells us he was unable to sleep at all last night and was still awake at dawn (5, the

⁶⁷ For another allusion to Alexandar's wall, see *DS*, 741:1.

compound word for dawn here, *sepideh-dam*, is constructed of the sememes "white-moment," and thus etymologically recalls the bright and yet only temporarily unbearded face of the ephebe), hoping against hope, with his eye looking out on the road and his ear to the door, that the beloved would pay him a visit (6). If the beloved had paid this visit (*veṣāl*) to the poet, the poet, ignoring the hair (*xār*, thorns) on his face (*gol*, rose, 7a) and the bitter poison of the beloved's physical maturity, would have indulged in the ephebe's nectary beauty (7b).

5.5

Ghazal 165

Meter: *Ramāl moṣamman maḥḍuf* → -0- -0- -0- -0-

Lines: 15 **Rhyme:** *āri* **Radif:** *ay pesar* **Taxalloṣ:** last line
Similar Poems: There are nine poems in the *radif ay pesar* (Gh158-66), all of them in *ramāl* and all of them, obviously, addressed to a boy. Of the four other poems in this rhyme, only Qaṣ310 is in the same meter, though Gh159 in *ramāl* rhymes in *ār*. Gh386 shares the rhyme and boy-love theme.

Text: MR only, 9 variants. reading *gardan* for *kardan* in line 10.

Most of the images in this poem are by now familiar. The facial hair appearing on the flower/moon of the ephebe's face (7-8, 13); the longing of Jacob for his son (*ay pesar*), Joseph, the cynosure of beauty (14, see 4.2 and Gh159:6); the beloved as conqueror and slayer of his lovers (10-11). In this connection, the imagery of polo (9) and battle (10, perhaps also jousting) are encountered, with the beloved the victor. In addition we find the imagery of statecraft and command (7), with the poet regally claiming he will order the youth's beard not to grow. The word for rebels, *sar kešan*,

literally means those who raise their heads (against the government), and can therefore aptly be applied to the beard hairs raising their heads from the follicles on the youth's cheeks. In line (6), this royal commander has bowed low before the hair and face of this beloved, touching his head to the ground, since the sun (the beloved) casts the shadow of our heads on the earth.

There is perhaps more to this image of bowing than at first meets the eye. Lines 1 through 3 draw a contrast between the sparkling conversation of this boy, which is sweet, witty and profound, and the sphinx-like silence he has imposed upon himself. The beloved sits like a statue, refusing to open his mouth and provide the companionship, consolation and inspiration the lover expects. In line 4 there is a reference to the idols of Qandahār; though this could certainly refer to the beauties who participate in the Sufi or wine symposia at Qandahār, it might just as well refer to the Buddhist icons which, even down to our day, survive in the eastern area of Afghanistan. If this were a rock-carving or statuette of the Buddha, it certainly would explain why it remained silent despite the poet's prompting that it open its mouth, and it might also account for the somewhat enigmatic phrase *agar-hā-ye laṭif* (3a; subtle/delicate/elegant traces,

remains or effects), which might be the remains of such icons or idols of the Buddha or a pagan sun god in the region.⁶⁸

Set 6: Panegyrical Ghazals

Though these are not the only ghazals which were delivered with panegyric intent (to the host of a banquet or convivium of some sort), they do allude to (6.1) or explicitly name the patron, thus calling attention to their panegyrical status. They share much in common with many of the *qaṣidehs* for Bahrāmšāh (see Chapter Two), which often seem in terms of their length and thematics to be formulaicly ghazals with one or two lines of *madḥ* appended at the end (cf. the discussion of *ghazal* vs. *madḥ* in Chapter One).⁶⁹ Thus, the use of the ghazal as a panegyrical form was not new to Hāfez, who employs it not infrequently, as Gani and Lescot have shown (see Chapter One).

⁶⁸ Refer to the passage on the cultural geography of the eastern Iranian lands in chapter 2. It is worth repeating that, in addition to the Buddhist temples in the region, there were also local cults, including some devoted to the sun god, Su-na. According to Baladūrī a temple at Mount Zur in this region contained a gold idol with ruby eyes, which the Muslim conquerors dutifully destroyed; al-Baladūrī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 486.

⁶⁹ There are about a dozen poems classed as ghazals in the edition of Modarres-e Rażavi that should or might possibly read as panegyrical. A number of the poems classed as *qaṣidehs* might also be read as ghazals or poems of mixed form that contain a patron's name in the last line or two.

Meter: *Rajaz mosamman sālem* → --- --- --- ---

Lines: 12 **Rhyme:** āt **Radif:** none **Taxalloḡ:** last line

Similar Poems: There are fifteen poems in *rajaz* in the *Divān*, many of which, though classed as ghazals, are actually in *mosammaṭ* form (Gh75, 175, 275-6). Some of these, like Gh275-6 employ a *radif*, which is unusual for a *mosammaṭ*; others like Gh325 and this poem combine the ghazal format with *mosammaṭ morabba'* (a stanzaic poem composed of 4-line stanzas), producing a ghazal with three internal rhymes in each stich (*bayt*), which change from line to line, and a unified rhyme in the final foot of each line (i.e., aaaa, bbba, ccca, ddda, etc.). The *mosammaṭ* on page 785 is structured similarly. This structure was sometimes employed to weave verses into an existing poem by another poet (*taẓmin*).⁷⁰ Ten other poems rhyme in āt, of which Qeṭ10 and Gh221 also seem to be panegyric.

Text: MR only, 9 variants, no emendations.

The object of this spiritual panegyric is not named, but is likely for an 'Alid leader whom Sanā'i expected to claim the station of Mahdi, possibly even Borhān al-Din Beryāngar in Baghdad (see Chapter Two), whom Sanā'i elsewhere chides for not keeping in contact with or visiting him,⁷¹ and to whose name there may be an allusion in this poem (7a, *borhān*, proof), in which case it must date from near the end of Sanā'i's own life. Another word for proof, *hojjat* (9a) may be taken as an allusion to the "proof" of God on earth, a Shiite term for the descendants of the eleventh Imām, *Hasan al-*

⁷⁰ See Elwell-Sutton, *Persian Metres*, 259, where an example of a *mosammaṭ* by Xāju based on a *qaṣīdeh* of Sanā'i is cited.

⁷¹ see the post-script to the *Hadiqat* (744-7), where Sanā'i calls Borhān al-Din a proof of the true religion and makes it very clear that both of them are Shi'ites, though, because of circumstances, they are not always open about this fact.

'Askarī, one of whom must always be present on earth;⁷² it appears in connection with the word *da'vat* (call, claim invitation, preaching, mission), which can have a sectarian meaning as well.⁷³ The followers of this spiritual figure, like the followers of 'Alī, are conquered in this world, even though his truth shines in heaven (3).⁷⁴ He is expected to come at the end of days (1b, *āxer zamān*) to right the world and overcome the wayward deniers (1b, *monkerān*; 11a, *sāmari*) with miracles (1b, *mo'jezāt*; 11b, *sāheri*) and by his righteous sword (9a, "if you slay a weak one, bring him back to life miraculously with your lips") and heavenly hosts (11a, *pari, malak*). It does not seem that this figure is himself a Sufi, for he is called upon to promulgate his call or claim (*ṣalā-ye xvod rā boland kon*), just as the Sufis do (*cun ṣufiān*, 8b), as he attacks to take the souls of men (8b).

Sanā'i was unable to cross paths with this figure in life or death (12), but he recites this threnody, as one recites the Qur'ānic verse "only good deeds endure" over the dead

⁷² S. A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God on Earth*, 39. It was also used as a *nom de guerre* of another Shi'ite poet, Nāṣer Xosrow, who held the rank of chief promulgator of the Ismā'ili Cause in Khorasan, and was therefore titled *hojjat-e xorāsān*.

⁷³ One might also remark that, although *forāt* (10b) obviously means the river Euphrates, it was also the name of a prominent Shi'ite family serving the Caliph at Baghdad in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries.

⁷⁴ As for the translation of "chaperon," *barāt* is a monetary security and *barāti* are the male friends and relatives of the groom who escort him to the bride. The bride (or groom) of heaven cannot come to earth without an escort.

(11),⁷⁵ as if standing over the grave (*xāk-e pā-ye ru-ye*) or shrine (*ka'ba*, 6a) of this figure, who has changed natures, from the animal to the mineral and plant world (5) after this great soul's death. The Shiite doctrine of return (*raj'at*) or perhaps even the disciples' vision of the resurrected Christ, may be alluded to in lines 2a and 3b, where the beloved is a spiritual being (in neo-Platonic and Manichaeian philosophy spirit was, by nature, pure light), though wrapped in the darkness of material form, possessing respectively eyes (for the light) and feet (to be grounded to the earth). His fragrant lips, like those of Jesus, can bring the soul back to life (6) and, likewise, in 11a, the departed spirit is an angel (*malak* or *pari*), has the power to work magic on the golden calf (idolatry and idolaters), and is accompanied by heavenly signs--the Three Daughters (the stars Alioth, Mizar and Alkaid in the handle of Ursa Major), which are seen as three shining beauty marks on the plump chin of the departed beloved.

These three daughters also resonate with the three pagan goddesses of pre-Islamic Arabia, *Manāt* (2b), *'Uzzā* and *Lāt* (9b). These goddesses, as *Moḥammad* charged, had no power and were destroyed by the Muslims, both physically and

⁷⁵ Q18:46; *al-māl wa al-bunūn zīnat al-ḥayawāt al-dunyā wa al-bāqiyāt al-ṣāliḥāt xayrun 'inda rabbika ṭawāban wa xayrun amalan* (Wealth and sons are the adornment of the life of this world, but only good deeds endure, and are the best reward in the sight of your Lord, and the best hope). Note also the previous verse (45), which bears some similarities to line 5.

doctrinally, by the creedal "No" (i.e., *lā ilāha illā allāh*; there is no God but God), as God destroyed the Golden Calf (11a, *sāmari*) in the days of Moses. The goddesses are mentioned in the Qur'ān (53:19-20) along with angels that men have wrongly conjectured to have female names (53:27-8), in a sura which details a mystical vision in the heavens, ostensibly vouchsafed to the Prophet, though it could be for any of his servants (*awḥā ilā 'abdihi*, 53:10), like the vision of the angelic being the poet describes here. While the people may have seen and understood the mere idols of religion (Q53:19, *a fa ra'aytum al-lāt wa al-'uzzā*), the poem's visionary, like Mohammad, has truly seen God and his Signs. This sura is titled *al-Najm*, the Star, as all learned Muslims, and especially Sufis, in medieval Iran would have recognized, and begins with the asservation, "By the Star when it sets" (53:1, *wa al-najm idā hawā*) which might come to the mind of a medieval Muslim reader upon hearing the allusion to the three goddesses/three stars in this poem. If so, it might have been understood as a reference to the demise of the spiritual luminary spoken of in this poem.

6.2

Ghazal 102

Meter: *Xafif mosaddas sālem al-ṣadr maxbun abtar* (or *maḥḍuf*)
→ - - - - - (- -) -

Lines: 16 **Rhyme:** *ām* **Radif:** *izad* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: Qaṣ95 and 151 employ the same rhyme and meter. Gh103-4 employ a similar *radif* (the phrase *be-nām izad*, in the name of God, repeated twice).

Text: MR 3 variants. Dār al-kotob has 14 lines, omits lines 5 and places line 6 after line 7, with lines 12-13 following line 8. No emendations.

This is a pen-portrait for a named patron, Ġolām Izad, literally "God's page" (*izad* being the Iranian word for God/gods, from Avestan *yazata*) or "slave to the divinity," which might also have been classed among the homoerotic poems. In view of the homonym between the patron's name and God's, it is easy to pray to the Godhead by means of a paeon to His page. Indeed, we might substitute "Theo" for every occurrence of the word "Izad" in the translation, and it would be easy to grow confused (as does Ahreman, the evil god or force in Zoroastrian cosmology, in line 9), about just who is intended by each occurrence of the word Izad, "Theo" or The Theos. As the poet remarks in the penultimate line (which returns to the opening theme in 1a, thus tightly closing the poetic circle), God has arrayed the patron not only with His beauty but also with His name.

Were it not for the evident pleasure and humor which the poet finds in this coincidence, the reader would be left doubting whether the entire poem and patron were not a poetic licence to illustrate the mystic contemplation of the divine beauty (the perfect beauty in the Platonic world of ideas), through the physical beauty of an earthly ephebe (*šāhed*), who witnesses or testifies (like the martyr, *šahid*) to the existence of the ideal beauty or truth. The patron, whose name and imagery (9) suggest that he may have been a fairly new convert from Zoroastrianism or come from a family or area in which Zoroastrian customs still held strong sway (perhaps

a mountain *dehqān?*), must be wealthy enough to hold court for himself (16b, *dar gah-at*) on a regular basis (16a, *to moqimi*, "you are constant, upright or ensconced"; 6-7, people are subject to him) and Sanā'i considers himself fortunate that God/Izad has granted him a position (*maqām*) at the court, so he can partake of the wine (10-11, *šarāb* and *modām*) and the pleasurable company of the convivium.

6.3

Ghazal 401

Meter: *Hazaj moḡamman sālem* → 0--- 0--- 0--- 0---

Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** *āhi* **Radif:** none **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: Qaṣ308 is a panegyric for Bahrāmšāh in the same rhyme. Gh401 in the same rhyme is for two army officials (*šomā*). Other poems in which the boyish warrior or soldier is addressed like a beloved include Qaṣ153, Qaṣ281, Gh305, Rob49.

Text: MR only, one variant, no emendations.

The beloved in this poem, a picture-perfect Kashmiri, is at one and the same time the houri of the court (1a, *hur-e xargāh*) and a warrior for the shah (1a *laškar-e šāh*). This illustrates a genre of poem that, in all likelihood, was addressed to the crown princes and Shahs of the Turkish rulers of Iran; this poem might be for Bahrāmšāh or for his son, Dowlatšāh. As fine specimens of young manhood, they are masters of the equestrian arts and of the bow, as well as being beautiful. But, because of their powerful position at court, they are unattainable and therefore, in the semiotics of the ghazal, haughty and impetuous, like a headstrong beloved, and much of the same imagery that describes the ephebe is applied to these youthful champions.

The poet attends every state banquet, hoping to find him there (4), and wanders through the night like the dew, accompanied by the breeze, as a suffering lover. Note that the poem is replete with internal rhymes and, like poem 6.1, could be considered as a *mosammaṭ*, except for the second hemistich of the first line, which does not contain the internal rhyme in either poem.

6.4

Ghazal 80

Meter: *Ramāl moḡamman maḥḍuf* → - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - -

Lines: 7 **Rhyme:** *el* **Radif:** *nehād* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: This rhyme is common in *robā'is*. It is also used in a panegyric for a physican (Qaṣ162) and for a few mystical homilies (Gh40, 182, 280), the first two of which are in the same meter as this poem. Similar *radifs* are found in five other poems (Qaṣ59, Gh81, 114, 376-7), the first two of which are in the same meter as this poem.

Text: MR no variant, Kabul ms 555, missing last line.

Another humorous poem, this one for a patron (Xvājeh As'ad-e Haravi, Aṣil al-Molk) who is apparently the same recipient of *qaṣideh* 235. In that poem, which must have been written rather early in his poetic career,⁷⁶ the poet mentions that his father had been the recipient of many bounties from this As'ad, and that he, too, would like to serve him, specifically, in the capacity as tutor or companion to the patron's son, Hasan (31-2). de Bruijn doubts, on the evidence of the name Hasan, which he rejects as a name of Sanā'i, that this poem belongs to our poet, and ascribes it,

⁷⁶ He refers to himself as "that little kid" (*pesarak*, 28) and seeks to be retained as a servant to the patron's son, Hasan (32). It's also clear that he has no other patron as yet.

instead, to Hasan-e Ġaznavi.⁷⁷ However, even if this is not a proper name of Sanā'i, we may assume that, as a poet, he might have earlier had a different pen-name (as in Qaṣ230), since the pen-name is often taken from the patron who gives the poet his poetic start, and Sanā'i may have taken the name Hasan from the friend whom he wants to serve. In any case, if Qaṣ235 is by Sanā'i, then this poem (Gh80) would have been composed some time after, once Xvājeh As'ad has admitted him into his entourage.

The particular poem is a humorous pastiche of the za'n theme, the parting of the beloved at dawn in the howdah as her tribe breaks camp, from pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. The poet shows his familiarity with the various topoi of the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, but adopts the language to a modern urban setting and to the generic conventions of the narrative ghazal. For example, the beloved is leaving a soirée (*maḥfel*), after a long evening of entertainment, rather than departing a nomadic encampment. The lovers' tears turn the ground under his mount (*bāzel*, a camel which has cut its teeth)⁷⁸ to mud, an image which is played out at length (5-6) in an exaggerated and almost satirical way, such that one

⁷⁷ OPP, 20.

⁷⁸ The distinction of the kind of camel and its age is not typically important in the semiotics of the Persian cultural sphere, though it was in the Arabic *rahīl* (see J. Stetkevych, "Name and Epithet: The Philology and Semiotics of Animal Nomenclature in Early Arabic Poetry, *JNES* 45, 2 [April 1986]: 89-124). The specificity of the reference therefore has a consciously archaizing and humorous connotation.

wonders if, indeed, the weather was particularly muddy at the occasion of its recitation.

Not only, however, is the poet jesting with the poetic traditions of pre-Islamic Arabia; he almost certainly has in mind here a famous poem by one of his predecessors at the Ghaznavid court, Manucehri. Though Sanā'i has affixed a *radif*, as appropriate for the ghazal format, the rhyme (*el) is the same as in a consciously archaizing and philo-Arabic *qaṣīdeh* by Manucehri for Sultan Mas'ud.⁷⁹ All eight of the rhyme-words in Sanā'i's seven-line poem are to bound in the 73-line ode by Manucehri, usually with the same image as that associated with the word in the earlier poem: the loading of the mount (S:1a and 2, M:2; *maḥmel*); the pain of separation in the lovers' hearts (S:1b, M:24, *del*, where the verb *nehādan* also appears in Manucehri, as in Sanā'i's *radif*); the mature camel (S:3, M:46, *bāzel*); the stations or home destination of the journey (S:4, M:1 and 33, *manzel*); the mud (S:5, M:39, *gel*; Manucehri also has melting snow in the previous line); the pepper in the eyes of the parted lovers (S:6, M:11, *pelpel*). The poem ends with the patron's name, qualified by the adjective *moqbel* (inviting, favorable or fortunate, auspicious), meaning that the patron, unlike the beloved who has left in the howdah, was receptive and solicitous of the poet, and that he is an auspicious patron. Manucehri's poem

⁷⁹ *Divān-e Manucehri*, 53-59. The poem, in *hazaj*, begins: *alā yā xaymegi xaymeh foru hel / keh piš-āhang birun šod ze manzel*.

had ending calling for an auspicious fate (*baxt-e moqbel*, line 72) for his royal patron and, in the final line, comparing himself to the famous Arab poet, *Ibn-i Muqbil*, who lived during the lifetime of the Prophet. Thus, *Sanā'i* also reinforces with this last line, what the audience already knows, namely that he is pastiching the imitation of an ancient poet.

6.5

Qaṣīdeh 94

Meter: *Ramal mogamman mahduf* → - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - -

Lines: 16 **Rhyme:** *ur* **Radif:** *bud* **Taxalloṣ:** none, though the poet mentions himself as *rahi* (your servant) in the ante-antepenult.

Similar Poems: See Poem 3.4 (Gh187), in the same meter with a similar *radif* (there are 10 poems with some form of the past tense of *budan* as *radif*). Qeṭ92, though in a different meter, shares the rhyme, the opening theme and the patron of this poem. Also for this patron are Qaṣ14 and 127. There are approximately 10 poems in the *Divān* with this rhyme, though no others are in *ramal*. Cf. also the *magnavi* by *Sanā'i*, *Sayr al-'ebād ilā al-ma'ād*, for a similar spiritual journey.

Text: MR only, 26 variants, no emendations, though some of the variants are of great interest.⁸⁰

Though this poem is classed by Modarres-e Rażavi as a *qaṣīdeh*, de Bruijn considers that it is actually a ghazal in form and genre, and "exemplifies the variety of short poems from which the classical ghazal developed."⁸¹ As an earlier example of such non-amatory ghazals ("*ḡazal* without

⁸⁰ In particular, the reading *dar šahr-hā* for *dar 'āšeqi* in line 13b and the inclusion of the *taxalloṣ* (*ay Sanā'i*) in a metaphorical reading of the party (*sur*), which in the version given by the variant for line 1, takes place in the mind of the beloved (*dar sar-e yār*).

⁸¹ OPP, 67 and 262n29.

tağazzul"), de Bruijn (*OPP*, 256n34) describes Kesā'i's poem on his fiftieth birthday as:

a poem conforming to the formal criteria of a classical Persian *ghazal* but not to the characteristics of the anacreontic genre associated with this form of poetry. Several poems in Sanā'i's *Dīvān* belong to this type, e.g., *qiṭ'a* No.92, a poem written at the occasion of the foundation of a convent by one of his patrons.

Although we cannot point to a time when fragmentary and occasional poems (*qeṭ'eh*) did not exist, just as we cannot locate a *terminus a quo* for the amatory or wassailing ghazal, these forms were not accorded equal status to the *qaṣideh* or *magnavī* in the high courtly tradition of Persian literature until about the era of Sanā'i (see Chapters One through Three). Sanā'i, due to the disparate interests and demands of his audience, employed the pre-existing genres (the royal *qaṣideh*, the musical ghazal, the verse homily) to different and expanded uses, as the performance setting required.

Sanā'i must have already composed many conventional ghazals--amatory lyrics and drinking songs--as well as a number of *qaṣideh*'s for various officials and legal scholars in the Ghaznavid court. That the poem assumes a form which is something between a ghazal and a *qaṣideh* is by the deliberate choice of the poet. While the subject is more serious than the typical verse recited at a banquet or convivium, it would have been inappropriate from a performance standpoint, if not also from a political or ideological standpoint, to provide a lengthy disquisition in *qaṣideh* form for a mystically oriented jurist like Moḥammad ebn Maṣṣur, the Qāzi of Saraxs in

Khorasan, who is not a member of the royal court and does not have the trappings of power about him that such a patron would (he hosts the banquet in a semi-public place, the *sarā'i*, or inn, associated with the merchant class rather than the royalty). The form would be inappropriate to the context and, indeed, when the effective scope of Ghaznavid power was greatly curtailed and Bahrāmšāh was virtually reduced to the status of a tributary or appointed governor of Sultan Sanjar, the majestic royal ode that had been performed in the halcyon days of Mahmud would ring hollow. Therefore Sanā'i's panegyrics for Bahrāmšāh (or the panegyrics of Abu al-Faraj Runi and 'Abd al-Vāse' Jabali for various patrons) were greatly curtailed in scope, often focusing on the ruler as a mystical rather than a political figure.

The poem itself develops as a linear narrative, shaped in the form of a boast of love or the social gossip between the poet and his companions on the day after. The poet describes the event (1a), the time (1b), the directions to get there and what was seen on the way (2-3), the gifts that were offered to the host (4), the home in which it was held (5-6), the refreshments served (6-7), the manners of the host and who among his visitors he specially favored (8-9), the graphics of the invitation (11). The poet then goes on to explain how the host granted a special audience to only a selected number of his guests, including the poet. The special audience granted to the poet likely refers to the distinction between elite and

commoner (*xāṣṣ* o *'ām*), which in Sufi terminology refers to those initiated into the esoteric understandings vis-a-vis the laity, who only know the common surface meaning of the texts. The patron, who is a *qāzi*, must surely give opinions to the general populace in terms of orthodox legal understandings. But, he is also mystically inclined, and invites Sanā'i, because of the latter's fame as a lover (of God), into the mystical classes (16b, *ramz-hā-ye majles*) which he holds. When meeting face to face with the patron, he is unable to look him straight in the eyes and instead bows his head, whereupon he sees the written list (described as a holy book, *moṣḥaf*, 15a, and as) which indicates that he, in particular, has been affirmed (*hast-e mā*). Thus, in contradistinction to the general order printed on everyone else's invitations (11, *towqī'*), which are inscribed with the Qur'ānic verse "thou shalt not see me" (*lan tarāni*, the reply of God to Moses's request to see him, Q:7:143, a favorite theme in Sufism) Sanā'i is admitted, and this prohibition or negative command is crossed out on his invitation (15b, *nafy-e lā*, again with Qur'ānic overtones).⁸²

Set 7: Poems on Religious Themes

A significant portion of Sanā'i's poetry in all its various forms is homiletic, a development of the ascetic genre (*zohdīeh*) in Arabic as practiced by Abu al-'Atāhīyah and

⁸² Note that this reading of 15b differs with the suggestion offered by de Bruijn, *OPP*, 68 and 262n30.

others; the accommodation of poetry to the reigning ethos of the lectures and gatherings of the 'ulamā, particularly preachers and legal scholars, but also for sectarian audiences, like the Shiites (see Chapter Two); and of the personal devotional attitudes of the mystically inclined (such as we find in the *monājāt* of Anṣārī) and the piety of common believers.⁸³ Sanā'i's *Divān* provides us with a number of examples of poems that would have appealed to such audiences, as well as many more with specifically Sufi audiences in mind (see set 10-12).

7.1

Qaṣideh 249

Meter: *Ramāl moṣamman maḥduf* → -o-- -o-- -o-- -o--

Lines: 16 **Rhyme:** ā **Radif:** ye-to **Taxalloṣ:** last line

Similar Poems: Of about 60 poems in this rhyme, 15 are in this meter, most of them panegyrics to spiritual or religious leaders (Qaṣ2, 14, 16, 17, 21, and 87), with Gh70 seeming to employ homoerotic motifs in praise of a religious figure. Gh338-41 use the same rhyme and *radif*, as does Qaṣ250, all with similar themes of praise, though whether they are meant for a religious figure is somewhat more ambiguous than in this case. Again, compare the journey to heaven in *Sayr al-'ebād*.
Text: MR, no variants, no emendations

This clearly belongs to that category of poem designated *na't*, a eulogy on the prophet Moḥammad,⁸⁴ probably delivered in a mystical circle, judging from the characterization of the Prophet's essential nature, quite possibly composed for commemoration ceremonies of the night of Moḥammad's journey to

⁸³ On the latter, see A. Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

⁸⁴ For a discussion of another of Sanā'i's *na't* poems, see Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, op. cit., 195-99.

heaven (*me`rāj*, traditionally celebrated on 27 Rajab). There are also Shiite overtones in the poem, with "the Penitents" (*tāyebān*, 4), described as the adornment of the divine law (*šar`*), sounding suspiciously like the Tawwābūn--the Penitents among the people of Kufa who, having failed to join the crusade of 'Ali's son, *Hosayn*, rose up in a futile revolt against the Umayyads, after they slew *Hosayn* and his family at Karbalā. Notwithstanding the devout reverence of this poem, there is a semiotic overlap with the topoi employed for praise and admiration of the beloved (as in Set 1), for the panegyrical ghazals (Set 6), even for the homoerotic poems (Set 5) and, obviously, for the poems of mystical love (Set 14).

The poem's difficulties consist chiefly in identifying its theological and philosophical allusions and underpinnings. The beautiful face of the Prophet (one surmises that the worshippers may even be looking at an illustration of the Prophet on his *Me`rāj*, similar to the famous miniature of this scene found in a *Nezāmi* manuscript) is the cynosure of all souls, and those exalted men who wear the headgear of great religious knowledge or social standing are but stepping stones under the sandals of his feet (1). The wheel of heaven/fate is inconstant, and orbits about the Prophet, the center of the universe, whose wisdom or tact (*hekmat*, in revealing no more of the truth than what he has revealed?) is approved by the rational faculties of the philosophers (2, an allusion to the

logical truth of the philosophers versus the metaphorical truth, or Platonic lie, of religion?).

Because the Prophet is the most exalted of beings, the creatures of this world and the angels of the next are jealous of him (3a). The jealous eye casts an evil glance, but folk beliefs attribute to collyrium (*kohl*), the power to ward off the effects of the evil eye. Therefore, the Prophet's eyes have been daubed with the apotropaic collyrium of the verse, "His eyes did not waver" (*mā zāga al-baṣar*, Q53:17), from the Qur'ānic pericope (53:1-18) associated with Moḥammad's Me'rāj, in which Moḥammad approaches the mystic essence of the Divine, standing within two bow's lengths of the Divine Lote Tree Beyond which Man May Not Pass (*sidrat al-muntahā*), which he gazes upon with unwavering eyes and clearly sees.

He continues the ascent up into the heavens, where the stars and planets are his doormen (4), whereas the Penitents (discussed above) are the earthly counterpart to these celestial guards, entrusted with the Divine Law. He enters Paradise, which is illumined by his radiant face and the heavenly denizens--the gorgeous houris (who are of indeterminate sex, depicted as young beardless boys, who have only downy facial hair--'eḡār)--are perfumed as they come into contact with his pomaded hair.

Now the poet steps back from the narrative to interject rhetorical questions, emphasizing that Moḥammad is more powerful than any mythical warrior (*Rostam*) and more august

than any earthly sovereign (6). The Prophet's intercession on behalf of his community would never fall to the dust (on deaf ears, as it were), because he is above the sun, beyond the pull of gravity, and casts no shadow on the earth (7).⁸⁵ Though the Prophet rides the angel Gabriel's mythical winged beast, *Borāq*, on his heavenward ascent, Gabriel, himself, who brought the revelation of the Qur'ān down to Moḥammad, could not ascend all the way with the Prophet into the highest heaven. Thus, Moḥammad's lofty aspirations (*hemmat-e vālā*) are said to provide a *borāq* for Gabriel (8). Indeed, the Prophet is just below God in the heavenly (as well as the Ptolemaic) hierarchy, with the Throne of God (*'arṣ*), providing the shade over Moḥammad's throne, situated in the highest paradise (*ferdows-e a'lā*). God, being entirely light and standing outside of the created worlds, does not, Himself, need a parasol to shade his Throne (11). Neither Abraham, designated by his epithet, "the Friend of God" (*Xalīl*), nor Moses, designated by the epithet, "He who talked [with God]" (*Kalīm*), can ascend into this highest level of paradise, but if they could, being lower in rank and station, they would do service to Moḥammad, kissing his sandals and sweeping the ground before him (13-14). Also in paradise are cresting streams of free-flowing mystic wine, which quench the thirst of all beings (12).

⁸⁵ For a discussion of the imagery associated with the intercession of the Prophet, see Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, 81-104.

In a reprise of the theme of the first line and a preview of the penultimate one, at this virtual halfway point of the poem (line 9), Moḥammad is now imagined as a masterpiece (perhaps in the form of an icon?) of God's invisible atelier (*negārestān-e ḡayb*), to which all creatures turn their face. In line 15, the beauteous silver-bodied angels of heaven, where there are no mirrors, contemplate their own beauty by gazing on the Prophet's face, a topos reminiscent of Poem 6.2, and the contemplation of God through the ephebe named "Theo" (*Izad*). Thus, the poem comes full circle, from all earthly creatures gazing on the Prophet's beautiful face (1a), to all heavenly creatures seeing their own beauty reflected there (15). This image of heaven and earth tightly intertwines with the voyage from the earth to the heavens; this is mirrored in the distance traversed by the eye, which gazes first at his face (1a, 15b) and then down at his feet and sandals (*tābeh*, 1b; *na'layn*, 14a). The arc of the Prophet's ascent and descent is thus traced by the eyes of the reader/onlooker from head to toe of the poem.

The poem then ends (16) with a subtle one-line prayer or request, in which Sanā'i, employing language one would address to a patron in a *qaṣīdeh*, asks for the liberal hand and bountiful kindness of the Prophet to bestow spiritual grace on him, for he is lost in the dark stages of spiritual dismay (*maqāmāt-e faza'*, a Sufi technical term).

→ - - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - - ∪ - - ∪ -

Lines: 12 **Rhyme:** āneh **Radif:** bud **Taxallos:** none

Similar Poems: Almost 60 poems are in this meter. There are about five in this rhyme, including Gh361 (see Poem 10.1). For poems in this *radif*, see Poem 6.5 above.

Text: MR only, no variants, no emendations

⁸⁶ See M. Purxāleqi Catrudi, *Farhang-e qeṣṣeh-hā-ye Payāmbārān: tajalli-ye šāʿerāneh-ye ešārāt-e dāstāni-ye Magnavi* (Mašhad: Entešārāt-e Āstān-e Qods-e Rażavi, 1371/1992), 106ff.

think that he could ever be an object of damnation (7), which, of course, is part of the divine deception (3, *makr*, a Qur'ānic word; see Q7:99, where none is said to be secure from the plan/deception of God, except those who are doomed).

Notice the use of the Simorǧ of love (1b), the magic bird of Iranian mythology, already here used as a symbol of divine love or mystic unity, as developed later in 'Aṭṭār's *Manṭeq al-ṭayr*. The word love ('*ešq*), returns in the last line (12a), emphasizing that one must be wise and not proud in love of God. The joy of closeness to God expressed in the first two lines and in the middle two (5-6), turns to the sorrow of exile in the last lines, and a reminder that those who are close to God achieve that nearness, not through their own efforts, but because God desires it (12). The subtle sound patterning of the first hemistich of the second and final lines also helps to frame the poem; 2a echoes the *radif* (*bud*) and provides assonance with the actual rhyme of the poem (*āh* verses *āneh*), as does the first hemistich of the final line (12a), which actually inverts the *radif* (*nist*, it isn't, vs. *bud*, it was).

7.3

Ghazal 219

Meter: *Xafif mosaddas sālem al-ṣadr maxbun abtar* (or *mahduf*)
→ - - - - - (- -) -

Lines: 8 **Rhyme:** *udam* **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: There are no other poems rhyming in *udam*. There are ten poems in the rhyme *ud*, including three *robā'is* which share a similar theme (Rob187, Rob215, Rob217)

Text: MR only, 4 variants. Reading *nay-afzudam* in 5b for *bi-afzudam*.

This poem is Manichaean in its insistence on avoiding entanglement in the corrupting evil of the material world so that the soul can rejoin its divine essence when it is released from the dark world of matter. Once again, the poem closes with a return to the theme of the first line; the speaker lived for a time in this world (1) as a living soul and, having died, no one knows where this soul has gone (8), other than that it has been released from the material world and from the constraints of the poem. The sound patterning in the last line, where both the first and second hemistich are virtually identical to one another, but diverge from the actual rhyme of the poem (*aftam* vs. *udam* in all the other lines) aurally affirms the thematics of conclusion and release.

7.4

Ghazal 111

Meter: *Ramāl moḡamman maḥḍuf* → - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 -

Lines: 11 **Rhyme:** *ān* **Radif:** *kešad* **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: There are over 25 poems in this rhyme and meter, of which Qaṣ195 is also Shiite in outlook, but cloaked in outward orthopraxy. There are four poems with this *radif*, of which Qaṣ75 follows the same meter in a similar rhyme, and is similarly pro-'Alid. Compare the treatment of a similar theme in Qaṣ251.

Text: MR only, no variants.

The poem opens with a ghazal-like line about the heart, taken as a gift to the house of the beloved, but it moves quickly into a more somber, contemplative and esoteric mood. The homiletic and orthodox part of the poem begins in line 4, with a sermon on how to walk the path of faith. It is continued in the five final lines of the poem where the men of

the Prophet, namely the four "rightly guided" Caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Omar, 'Osmān and 'Ali are invoked as spiritual exemplars, courageous men whose faith we must all imitate.

On closer inspection, however, the poem ought to be read as strongly Shiite in sympathy, an anguished prayer for the advent of the Hidden Imam and the restoration of justice and piety to the earth.⁸⁷ The one who enters the house of the beloved, bearing the gift of his heart, must sacrifice his life, for the heart, itself, is an inconsequential gift (a nothingness, *nisti*, 1b) to such an exalted beloved. To dedicate one's heart to the cause of 'Ali is not enough; one must give one's life. This lover will roll out the carpet of nobility, tactfully and with reason (2, *az ru-ye 'aql*), for the grieving and ill-fated partisans of the house of sorrow (*bayt-e aḥzān*). On the surface, the "house of sorrow" is an allusion to the household of Jacob, grieving uncontrollably after the disappearance of Joseph, who, as told in Sura 12 of the Qur'ān, was betrayed by his own brothers, members of the same household. The Shiites, themselves, are the partisans of the house or descendants of the Prophet, and grieve over the martyrdom of Hosayn, who, like Joseph, was killed by his "brothers" in religion. Though it is a difficult role to bear--fraught with danger--the lover will don the garb of love

⁸⁷ See chapter two for the several verse jeremiads in which Sanā'i laments the state of the world and wonders when the Mahdī will come. In Qas251 he laments the fact that the Shi'ites are leaderless.

for the sake of the Friend (3).⁸⁸ The shirt (*pirāhān*) of love alludes to the various shirts (*qamiṣ*) of Joseph in the Qur'ān: the blood-stained shirt Joseph's brothers showed to their father, Jacob, to "prove" he was dead (Q12:18); the shirt torn by Zolayxā in desire of Joseph (Q12:25); or the shirt which Joseph sends to signal his father that he is still alive, and by which Jacob's blindness is cured (Q12:93). He who wears this shirt, then, will be tossed into a well, tested by desire, and ultimately return to restore sight to his kinfolk in the house of sorrow (cf. the address to the "Joseph of the Age" in poem 4.2 above).

This lover/savior must be one who will march (like *Hosayn* did from Kufa to Karbala) and drain the cup of sorrow in accordance with the oath (4, *paymān*, perhaps the oath taken by the believers at Ghadir Khum to follow 'Ali?). Religion, this oath and the Imamate are all one in the path of faith and require a man of great faith, who will try to restore the Imamate to religion (5). This time, unlike at Karbalā, the powerful army of the Sunnis, will be routed because it is cut off (*band-e qatī'at*) from divine assistance; in the same way, the Sunni battle standard "There is no power except in God" (*lā ḥawla illā bi Allāh*) will be rent, divesting them of the protection of God, and leaving them with only a demoralizing

⁸⁸ Compare Qas270:24, *ku yeki fāẓel keh xār-aš nist mošti riš gāv/ ku yeki ṣāleḥ keh xaṣm-aš nist qowmi žaž-xāy*.

and half-hearted rallying cry, "There is no power."⁸⁹ At this point, the royal parasol will be held over the victorious rays of the true divine law (6), rather than over the political monarchy established by Umayyad armies.

Sanā'i accepts the three Caliphs prior to 'Ali, but 'Ali is the only one among them evoked, like the Prophet (9a, *Moṣṭafā*, the pure one), by an epithet--the indefatigable lion-man (11a, *Haydar-e Karrār*)--giving a semiotic charge to the figure of 'Ali that the other Caliphs lack. It is also with 'Ali that the poem ends, treacherously defeated at the battle of Ṣiffīn by Marwān and the Umayyad army, after the latter falsely swore a cease-fire with Qur'āns on the point of their spears. The poem closes with the echo of "where is the lion-man" ringing in our ears.

As we have seen in many other ghazals, the last line of the poem often echoes or returns to the theme of the first. The image of the first line is that of a visitor (or pilgrim) to "the House of the Beloved," which, by the time we come to the last line, we are invited to read as the House of 'Ali, meaning the descendants of the Prophet and the holders of the Imamate (5). The poem calls upon this latter-day 'Ali to arise to face the modern-day Marwāns. Such a poem (minus the reference to the Imamate in line 5) could be read by a Sunni reader as a general "o tempora, o mores" theme, bemoaning the

⁸⁹ The phrase *band-e qaṭi'*-at might alternatively be read as "your little band of followers," who, unlike *Hosayn's* troop, will not be defeated.

contemporary lack of true faith and commitment to the laws of religion in comparison with the days of the four rightly-guided caliphs. A Shiite audience, practiced in the art of dissimulation or circumspection (*taqieh*) about their true beliefs in order to get along in the Sunni power structures of eastern Iran, would know to read the poem suggestively after encountering the reference to 'Ali.

7.5

Ghazal 292

Meter: *Ramal moṣamman mahḍuf* → - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - -

Lines: 9 **Rhyme:** *ār* **Radif:** *zan* **Taxalloḡ:** penultimate line

Similar Poems: See 1.1 above. Qaṣ212-3 and Gh288-291 share meter, rhyme, *radif* and the theme of how to tread the path of Faith.

Text: MR only, 5 variants. Reading *cang* for *dast* in 7b.

Unlike the previous poem, in which Sanā'i calls upon a savior to show the way, here he speaks homiletically, instructing disciples how to tread the way of exoteric religion. One can imagine such a poem being recited in a Qur'ān or Hadīth class among a circle of jurisconsults and religious judges. Although 'Alī appears here (2b), unlike the previous poem, the poem is not obviously Shiite in its sentiments, and, indeed, concludes with the admonition to follow the Sunnah, like Sanā'i (8). Likewise, though line 3 is susceptible of a mystical interpretation (*fanā/baqā* annihilation/immortality), the poem is an argument for true piety in conventional religion, and appeals to the examples of Bu Darr, a pious jurist; the laws of the Prophet, here called by his epithet, Aḥmad, the most praiseworthy; and to 'Alī, as a crusader against the enemies of faith. Note also, that is

an argument in favor of the so called "greater crusade" (*jihād-e akbar*), the subduing of the concupiscent self, and not the conquest of the pagans and idolaters, in which the Ghaznavids took such pride. The last line returns, not unexpectedly, to the theme of walking broached in the first and, echoing the rhyme in the first hemistich (9a, *bidār*) to signal the end, it argues that to gain a true understanding of religion, one must remain alert and vigilant and walk heroically down the pathways of its inner meanings (*ma'ni*, a term that Sanā'i uses often in this sense; see also [gh288], [Gh172] and [gh290]).

Set 8: Wine Songs

An historical analysis of the frequency of various words for wine (*šarāb*, *may*, *bādeh*, *nabid*, *rāḥ*, *xamr*, *mol*, etc.), for wine vessels (*qadah*, *sātgin*, *piāleh*, *paymāneh*, *jām*, *šorāḥi*, etc.), and for the adjectives describing the color, taste, method of preparation and mode of drinking (*argavāni*, *sorx*, *suri*; *talx*; *xām*, *dord*, *šāf*, *āsudeh*; *šobuḥ*, etc.), might sharpen our understanding of the semiotics of the various wine-drinking tableaux encountered in this sub-genre of the ghazal, which, of course, developed from the Arabic genre of the *xamrīyah*.⁹⁰ In this regard, J.T.P. de Bruijn has already

⁹⁰ E.g., A. Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, op. cit., chapter two, "Ghazal and Khamriya: The Poet as Ritual Clown;" S. Stetkevych, "Intoxication and Immortality: Wine and Associated Imagery in al-Ma'arri's Garden," in *Critical Pilgrimages: Studies in the Arabic Literary Tradition*, ed. F. Malti Douglas, a special issue of *Literature East and West*, (Austin: Department of Oriental and

provided a very useful outline of the early history of an important wine-drinking term, the *xarābāt* or ruins.⁹¹ Although it is true that all wine poems are at some level antinomian, de Bruijn's understanding of the *xarābāt* in terms of the *qalandari* genre (see Set 9 below), somewhat limits its semiotic range. I draw a distinction between the *xarābāt* of wine poems with homiletic and symbolic intent, in which divine intoxication is symbolized without emphasizing its antinomian aspects; the earlier epicurean and anacreontic tradition of wine, as found in the 3rd/10th century poets like Rudaki and later in the quatrains of Khayyām and the *qaṣidehs* and shorter poems of the early Ghaznavid court; and finally the *qalandari* genre, in which the topos of wine drinking is clearly antinomian, and is associated with disruptive and disreputable behavior, often of the beloved (a character found in alcohol-free poems such as Poems 2.4 and 4.2 above, as well as in wine poems, such as 5.1 above). The *xarābāt* imagery occurs in all three sub-genres of wine poetry and is not limited to the *qalandariāt*.⁹² An iconography of wine in Persian poetry

African Languages and Literatures, the University of Texas, 1989), 29-48.

⁹¹ De Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry, from *Sanā'i* Onwards," in *The Legacy of Mediæval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn, (London and New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), 75-86.

⁹² The association of wine-drinking with pre-Islamic civilization (Christian inns, Zoroastrian boys, etc., who inhabit the older outskirts of the cities, a place naturally associated with ruins) is, indeed, already present in Abū Nuwās and other Arab poets of the Abbasid period.

could also profit from studies of the wine topoi in related traditions; the wine of Persian poetry seems to share much in common with the wine of the Athenian and Hellenistic symposia.⁹³

As with the imagery of the lover and beloved, whether we are to take the wine depicted in the ghazal symbolically or literally has been a matter of much contention. Again, this is a false dichotomy. There is no question that poets and princes did drink real wine at the royal symposia of the Persian courts, but this did not hamper the poets of the royal *qaṣīdeh*, like Farroxi, from investing wine and springtime with mythical significance. The same is true for ghazal poetry; whether the poet has really imbibed or not, whether he is participating in a Sufi *dekr* session or in an actual drinking party (*majles-e šarāb*), he invests the rituals of wine-drinking with a symbolic significance that transcends the actual denoted referents of the sign. In both cases, however, the familiarity of the audience with the actual practices and atmosphere of wine symposia is assumed.

This tension between real and transubstantial wine was already apparent in some of the wine odes of the Abbasid Arab poet, Abū Nuwās, and we do not need to assume that a poet was a gnostic before we grant him a poetic liquor licence to speak

⁹³ See for example, Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World*, op. cit., and G. Hagenow, *Aus dem Weingarten der Antike: Der Wein in Dichtung, Brauchtum und Alltag*, (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1982).

symbolically of wine. As we saw in Poem 3.5 above, the structural opposition between raw and mulled wine is anthropologically suggestive, in and of itself. Again, in Poem 7.1 (Qaṣ249:12), we encounter the streams of wine flowing in paradise, a spirit which obviously has spiritual implications, but is based in the Qur'ān's physical imagery of heaven, which while certainly lending itself to mystical interpretation, is also susceptible of metaphorical and allegorical readings (as in the Old Testament image of "the land of milk and honey"), or even literal readings (heaven as an actual place stocked with rivers of real wine).

8.1

Qaṣideh 49

Meter: *Ramal moṣamman maḥḍuf* → - 0 - - 0 - - 0 - - 0 -

Lines: 8 **Rhyme:** ām **Radif:** nist **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: There are over 35 poems in this rhyme, 6 others in the same meter. Of those, all but one (Gh335) deal with the theme of wine (Gh10, 11, 64, 200, 306), probably because the rhyme lends itself to wine-related words. Gh64 is virtually identical in form (rhyme, meter, *radif*) and theme.

Text: MR only, one variant, no emendations

This poem nicely illustrates the two principal orientations toward the topos of wine found in Persian poetry and the fact that their semiotic fields can intertwine and overlap. In the end, this particular example comes down on the side of the Sufi understanding of wine, but because it nicely illustrates the two dominant motifs of wine and wine-drinking, it provides a useful starting point for discussion. The first three lines read like a typical philosophical or even epicurean wine poem such as is frequently encountered in the quatrains of 'Omar Khayyām. The poet drinks because it

dulls the pain of his loss of love, a motif shared with the love lyric, though "love," in the elegaic mood thus created might symbolically suggest loss of youth, of past glory, etc.⁹⁴ Typically, as in line 3 here, the vicissitudes of the turning heavens are blamed for the unhappy fate of the speaker, who calls for wine from the Saqi, or cup-bearer, conceived of (like Ganymede, the houris of heaven and the ephebe or page of the homoerotic poem) as being of indeterminate, or at least not fully mature and differentiated, sex.

A very similar poem, Ghazal 10, in the same rhyme and meter, develops this theme of wine as the cure to philosophical pains throughout, as does Poem 8.2, below. In Poem 8.1, however, wine begins to assume the characteristics of the Sufi's mystic wine after line 3. The distinctions drawn between elite and commoner (6-7, *xāṣṣ* and *'ām*), between the intimates and the strangers (4, *nā maḥramān*, *bigāneh*), between the lovers and the ignorant (8, *'āṣeqān* and *jāhelān*), are code words distinguishing the Sufis from the mass of orthodox or exoteric believers. Both wine and love, while permitted to the Sufi initiates, are forbidden by the law, and the Sufis must be careful to prevent outsiders from discovering or being initiated into their mysteries, since not all hands are capable of holding this heady wine (4). This,

⁹⁴ On the elegiac mood of Arabic poetry, see J. Stetkevych, *Zephyrs of Najd*, chapter 2, "The Nasīb: From Archaic Tears to Spiritual Pilgrimages."

of course, alludes to the debate within Sufism between the advocates of the "sober" (*ṣaḥv*) and "drunken" (*sokr*) approach to the gnostic path, as the approaches of Junayd and Bāyazid Beṣṭāmī, respectively, are already metaphorically described in Hojviri's *Kaṣf al-Maḥjub*.⁹⁵

The sound patterning in this poem is very intricate. At some point in the first hemistich of every line, there is a word that echoes with the rhyme (*ām) of the poem (2a, xām; 3a, ārām; 4a, ḥarām; 5a, ayyām; 6a, dām; 7a, 'ām; 8a, dām). Furthermore, in many of the lines the last syllable of the first hemistich rhyme with one another (2a, kojā; 3a, torā; 5a, mā; 6a, havā). The parallelism of the last line, formulated like a maxim, neatly sums up the second section of the poem.

8.2

Ghazal 214

Meter: Hazaj mogamman sālem → - - - - -

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** astam **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: See 6.1 for same meter and similar opening. There are no other poems in this rhyme (which could also be considered as *ast*, with *radif* -am)

Text: MR only, two variants

⁹⁵ Bāyazid (d. 261/875), like Hallāj, practiced *sukr*, the ecstatic proclamation of the mystic's insights, when "inebriated" with transcendent visions. This, of course, could seem like blasphemy and cause disruption among the believers. Junayd (d. 298/910) followed the path of sobriety (*ṣaḥv*) in the life of the mystic. He must speak of gnostic truths only allusively (*iṣārāt*), and live within the law. Sanā'i must be seen primarily as a follower of this path, both by statements in his poetry and because of the fact he was able to mix ecumenically with people of many different "denominations." However, his many Qalandari poems certainly seem to advocate the path of blasphemous and socially reprehensible mysticism.

Though the wine and love of this poem might be variously interpreted, we find here a more conventional presentation of the topos of drinking wine as a philosophical escape from the pains of love. Like the wine theme of the royal *qaşıdeh*, it is associated with spring, but the rebirth or *adventus* in this poem is of renewed lovesickness, which we encountered in set 3, above. The poet relates his woes to the *sāqi*, who he imagines has never known passionate love (because he is not old enough? because he shows no inclination to return the physical attentions of the poet?), and is therefore untouched by grief. The *saqi* thus ministers to and mediates the poet's melancholic grief, by measuring out wine after wine for him (6), never leaving his hands empty (1) of this "Syrian" vintage. Structurally, the *Saqi* also frames the poem, pouring out the wine that allows the tale of woe and love (which it is better to keep hidden, as suggested in line 4) to flow, before the poet calls for yet another drink in the last two lines (5b, 6). The internal rhymes in each line, reminiscent of the stanzas of the *mosammaʿ* form, subtly reinforce the suggestion of repeated rounds of drink.

8.3

Qaşıdeh 190

Meter: *Xafif mosaddas sālem al-şadr maxbun abtar* (or *maḥḍuf*)
→ - 0 - - 0 - 0 - (0 0) -

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** *uḥ* **Radif:** *konim* **Taxalloş:** last line

Similar Poems: Qaş35 and 165 in the same rhyme treat very similar themes with the same rhyme words and many of the same images. Qaş192 shares the meter, radif and theme. Qaş193-4 also share the radif. There are about 30 poems which open, like this one, with a call to arise (*xiz*), usually to drink more wine.

Text: MR only, 9 variants, reading *bar qowl* for *bar še'r* in 4b.

Though this poem deliberately invites a gnostic sublimation of the pleasures of the wassail described, it is nevertheless a fine example of the mood and thematics of poetry composed for wine symposia. The suggestion that the revelers get in the mood (4a, *hāl ārim*) with the poetry of Farroxi, which was often sung at the wine symposia of Mahmud of Ghazna,⁹⁶ and dance to the ghazal-like songs (4b, *qowl*, on which see Chapter One) of Bu al-Fotuḥ points toward the performance setting of the poem.⁹⁷ Note the number of different terms for or types of wine mentioned within the few lines of this poem: (1b) *rāḥ*; (2b) *šarāb*; (3a) *bādeh*; and (1a, 6b) *sobuḥ*, the wine drunk in the morning by the lolling revelers to shake off the after-effects of the previous evening's indulgence. Notice also that the page or cup-bearer is, like the beloved of the homosexual poems, a boy (1a, *pesarā*).

The ascent of the spirit with the downing of the wine could, obviously, refer to mystical intoxication, as could *fotuḥ* (conquest) in line 2b, which connotes opening,

⁹⁶ a manuscript variant proposes Rudaki instead of Farroxi, which would also convey the same sense of wine and music and poetry, but perhaps not quite so vividly for a late Ghaznavid-period audience.

⁹⁷ In another poem (Qas165), Sanā'i describes himself as bound and chained to the love of Bu al-Fotuḥ (1), one kiss from whom would be enough to conquer the poet (4). Recall that Mas'ud Sa'd gives the name of a reciter/singer called Abu al-Fath in one of his *qaṣīdehs* (Divān, 401).

conquering, and liberating, but is also a technical Sufi term for the charity given to a darvish. The latter is certainly a possible meaning here, since the drinkers call themselves the poor and meek (*moflesān*), and would like to liberate their souls as well as receive donations. It should also be noted that secondary meanings for both *rāḥ* and *ruh* are the names of musical modes; in addition to line one inviting the drinkers to raise their spirits (*ruh*) by raising their wine (*rāḥ*) glasses, the verse has a musical overtone to it: let song ring out in accompaniment to the wine.

What if the drinking party is discovered by a pious believer, a non-initiate, as in poem 8.1 above? The revellers drink openly because they know that by vowing solemnly (and falsely) never to drink again, they can be "saved," avoiding punishment (3). The reference to "the prayer of Noah" may have much the same intent; in the Sura of Noah, after unsuccessfully remonstrating with his people to follow the ways of righteousness, Noah utters the prayer that brings on the deluge (Q71:25-8), in which he beseeches forgiveness for all the faithful who enter his house, and perdition for the oppressors (*zālemān*). If Sanā'i is alluding to this passage of the Qur'ān (but see also Q37:75), he may be suggesting an inversion of the evident meaning--the drinkers have entered the venue of their symposium as believers and the intruder (5a, *nā-jens*), the non-member of their club, is attempting to oppress or harass (*zaḥmat*) the revelers. In this case,

"Noah's prayer" may be read as a plea for forgiveness of the drinkers and removal of the intruder. Alternatively, Noah's prayer may be understood as a prayer for wine. As Sanā'i urges in another poem (Qaṣ35):

*ṭufān-e balā az cap o az rāst dar āmad
dar bādeh gorizid keh ān keṣṭi-ye nuḥ ast*

The gale of destruction has arisen on all sides
Make your escape in wine, for it is the ark of Noah.

In any case, the drinkers remain on liminal ground, continuing to drink in the morning despite the dangers of discovery. This call to rise for the morning draught opens the poem (1a) and is repeated in the last hemistich (6b) to bring it to a close.

8.4

Ghazal 234

Meter: *Hazaj mogamman sālem* → 0--- 0--- 0--- 0---

Lines: 5 **Rhyme:** am **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: Gh11 also mentions Bāyazid, Karxi and Šebli. Gh290 mentions Ebrāhim Adham. Gh316 and Qaṣ75, 99, 159, 175 name several Sufis as well. All the other poems in this rhyme and meter share the Sufi theme with it (Qaṣ76, 175, 306 and Gh231 [Poem 9.2]).

Text: MR only, no variants

Here wine is explicitly a symbol for mystical experience, which satisfies the heart in this world, affirming its divine reality. The poem contrasts mere grape wines, the kinds of which are not enumerated, with the mystic vintage, which decreases the psyche's pain at being separated from its primordial essence. These wines of the Sufis are enumerated; they are the schools associated with the famous proponents of mystic teaching: Beṣṭāmi (d. 261/875, originator of the ecstatic utterance, *ṣaṭḥiāt*), Ebrāhim Adham (d. 165/782, noted

for his asceticism), Jonayd (d. 298/910, founder of the orthodox school), Šebli (d. 334/846, a companion of Jonayd) and Ma'ruf-e Karxi (d. 200/815, Baghdad school),⁹⁸ and to Habib, probably Abu Moḥammad Habib-e 'Ajami (d. 120/739),⁹⁹ or Abu al-Fayḏ Sawbān Ebn Ebrāhīm of Egypt (d. 245/859), known as Du al-Nun and as Habib Allāh. Sanā'i traces this line of Sufi preceptors all the way back to Adam and Jesus.¹⁰⁰ The last line also possibly means to evoke the name of Malek Ebn Dinār (d. 130/748, a traditionist and calligrapher, disciple to Hasan al-Baṣri), though *malak* here also means angel. But too much stock should not be put in the differing doctrines of these masters, such as whether to follow the path of ecstatic inebriation (*sokr*) as practiced by Hallāj and Beṣṭāmī, or the sober orthodox mysticism of Jonayd (*ṣaḥv*). Sanā'i, ever able to mediate between conflicting sects and doctrines, urges the mystics not to become too attached to their particular gnostic school or order, but to join together in a friendly spirit to

⁹⁸ To understand what these figures meant to a poet like Sanā'i, see the *vitae* given for these mystics given by 'Aṭṭār in *Taḍkerat al-vafā*. For a scholarly treatment, refer to EI², EI³ and E. E. Berthels, *Izbrannye [III]: Sufizm i sufiiskaya literature*.

⁹⁹ A disciple of Hasan al-Baṣri and teacher of Dā'ud Ṭā'i.

¹⁰⁰ Jesus may be known as a mystical teacher because of his "miracles" or *karāmāt*, like bringing Lazarus back to life. Adam is not usually seen as a Sufi, unless here he represents the primordial man. It is also the name of Sanā'i's own father, and may mean to suggest the poet, himself (c.f., Qas175, where the first line mentions *farzandān-e ādam*--the children of Adam, the penultimate line mentions Ebrāhīm Adham, and the last line brings Sanā'i's *taxalloṣ*).

imbibe this heady vintage of the angels and cheer the heart
and soul.

8.5

Ghazal 269

Meter: *Ramāl moḡamman mahḏuf* → -o-- -o-- -o-- -o--

Lines: 8 **Rhyme:** ar **Radif:** *kešim* **Taxalloḡ:** penultimate line

Similar Poems: Qaṣṣ provides a similar explicitly mystical treatment of the wine topos. There are dozens of poems treating the topos of mystical wine, many of them sustaining the theme throughout the entire poem. The esoterically mystical wine poem might even be thought of as a sub-genre of the wine poems treated above. There are twenty other poems in this rhyme and meter. No other poems are in this radif, but there are about ten poems all told with some form of the present tense forms of the verb *kešidan*.

Text: MR only, 9 variants, no emendations.

Here wine is a ladder to climb above the seven heavens and repeat Moḡammad's ascent to God (*me'rāj*). The repeated reference to the number seven in lines one and two conjures up an image of seven drinkers sitting in a circle, like the geographical seven climes over which the sun, the goblet (*sāḡar*) full of shining wine, revolves. But, the man of love (2a, *mard-e 'ešq*), the true worshipper, must rise above the heavens (and above earthly wine, as did, in both cases, the Prophet Moḡammad). This feat can be achieved only by slaying the dragon (3a, literally, *xaṣm*, enemy) of the concupiscent soul (*nafs*, in an ellipsis of *nafs-e ammāreh*), or selfish aspect of our being; it is this fight, and not the holy war (*jehād*) against the unbelievers, which of course was one of the major glories of the Ghaznavid empire--its conquests of the Hindu realms of India, that is the greatest crusade (3b, *ḡazv-e akbar*).

At this point there is something of a thematic shift in the next three lines (4-6), which though related to one another, do not at first seem connected to the scene depicted in lines 1-3 and 7-8. As we shall see, however, there is a chain of association which links this middle three-line section with the framework of the beginning and ends of the poem.

In line 4 we encounter the topos of suffering love, with the wassailing worshippers caught in the trap of love for beautiful faces (4a, *'ešq-e xub-ruyān*). That is to say their hems (1a) and their concupiscent souls (3a) are entrapped in worldly as opposed to divine love. This worldly love, symbolized by the love of the beautiful ephebes, the young men who may or may not be present in this Sufi ceremony but are nevertheless certainly present in the imagination of the reader of Persian (love) poetry, has brought the pain of ruin upon the lovers (4b, *dard o balā-ye 'āšeqi*), which is to say that the glories of the pre-Islamic past--the palaces of Caesar and of Kay Xosrow¹⁰¹--are ruined and gone (5), and with them, the pagan or Zoroastrian sensibilities and the permissibility of wine. Nevertheless, the modern mystic imbibor, by his machismo (his bravery and battle-prowess in the greater crusade of 3b), can enslave this glorious pagan past and put it to his own uses. The dust of the lane of the

¹⁰¹ The ruined palace of the Sasanian Kay Xosrow, *ivān kesrā*, is a highly charged image in both Arabic and Persian poetry; see, for example, Xāqāni's famous poem on the theme.

Friend (*dust*, who is the true object of worship and devotion, as opposed to the earthly beautiful faces of line 4a) will be kicked up in this spiritual combat, but being a battle to reach the divine beloved, the gritty dust of battle covering the faces of the mystic warriors, will seem to anoint and perfume them like musk and ambergris (6).

Now the poem returns to the circle of drinkers encountered in line one and the exhortation to lift their robe hems (*dāman*, 1a, 2b, 7a) high above the dusty mortal world, higher even than the lower realms of the heavens. Let those whose hems have been sullied in the mud of spiritual battle, those who are mortal and sinful (7a, *tar dāmanān*), have dry/clean hands and feet--that is, let them be pure of soul, since the opposite of *tar dāman* is *xošk dāman*, meaning one who is pure and righteous. How are they to accomplish this? In the Sufi ritual of remembrance (*dekr*), which seems in this case, like the whirling dervishes of the later Mevlevi tradition, to include a dance, as the call to arise in 7a (echoing the first word of the poem's first line) and form a circle of *fanā* (annihilation, a Sufi technical term) about *Sanā'i* suggests. The poem then explains what is meant by this annihilation: burning the wool in his cap, which, in the sumptuary conventions of the medieval period (and probably also within the Sufi orders, themselves) was a clear symbol of a man's earthly rank. In order, then, to climb the seven heavens, man must burn away his attachments to this world and

his station in it and drown his worldly consciousness in ecstatic divine inebriation.

Set 9: Qalandari Poems

The *Qalandari* or *Malāmati* approach to Sufism was a means to keep the practitioner of the mystic path from becoming proud of his spiritual achievements. The early ascetics who denied themselves the world eventually became famous for their self-renunciation. In emulating this example, their disciples might secretly hope to win worldly renown for their worldly renunciation. It was surely to combat this temptation¹⁰² that the *qalandari* or ribald, self-deprecating, antinomian approach to spiritual development was adopted, this being in the writings of the Khorasani mystic *Hamdun al-Qaṣṣār* (d. 271/884), if not earlier. As de Bruijn notes, the virtue of blameworthiness encouraged by the *malāmati* and *qalandari* attitude was at first expressed as a technique or objective in Sufi manuals (elsewhere expressed in *Sanā'i's* Sufi verses as *kam zadan*, deliberately showing oneself in a bad light), later developed into a literary topos and genre, and finally found expression in the 7th/13th century in actual orders or troops of *qalandari* Sufis, whose devotees shaved their heads and went

¹⁰² But perhaps also to imitate some mystics who were truly "touched" and behaved in their dementia in socially unacceptable ways that led to ostracism or, on the other hand, to indulge in libertine behavior under some effective pretense.

about begging in rags.¹⁰³ The figure of the *qalandar* flaunts his drunkenness in public, gambles the day away, plays the role of con-man, huckster and libertine ('*ayyār*, *qallāš*, *rend*)¹⁰⁴ and is self-abasing (e.g., see Gh345). The genre frequently assumes an anthem-like quality, celebrating the spiritual virtues of debauchery, just as other poems (see Set 11) sing the praises of the more sober fraternal code of ethics of the Sufi orders. The topoi of the *qalandari* poem obviously overlaps with those of the wine poems, the poems of suffering love, and the Sufi sermons and catechisms. Its celebration of profligacy and insistence on cultivating an ethos of antinomian spirituality give it a distinct character. Many of them summon up the contemporary image of a procession of Hare Krishna devotees, in their saffron robes, dancing down the street, singing praises to the Lord.

9.1

Ghazal 267

Meter: *Xafif mosaddas sālem al-ṣadr maxbun abtar* (or *maḥḍuf*)
→ - - - - - (-) -

Lines: 12 **Rhyme:** ar **Radif:** im **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: Of the 90+ poems in this rhyme and the 120+ poems in this meter, 10 poems share both. Of these, Qaṣ125 includes the reprehensibility of wine drinking as a theme. Qaṣ183 and Gh268 share rhyme and radif. Gh265 in the same

¹⁰³ De Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 75-77. A modern day corollary might be found in the Hare Krishna troops who, in some places in the U.S. (like the Berkeley campus), dance down the street singing praises to the lord, and in other places (like the L.A. airport), try to trade their books for money.

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of the common motifs of the *qalandari* genre, see de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt*" and H. Ritter, "Philologika XV," *Oriens* 12 (1959):1-88, which analyze aspects of the genre as found in Sanā'i and 'Aṭṭār, respectively.

rhyme and with a similar *radif* treats the wine theme. There are about 30 poems which open or close with the imperative verb, *xiz* (arise!), most of which treat the wine theme in some way. Of these, Gh269 shares the rhyme and a similar *radif* and Qaṣ289 shares a similar rhyme. Many of these poems also use a *radif* with a verb in the hortative first person plural (**im*, let us...).

Text: MR only, 5 variants, no emendations

This is a drinking song, an anthem setting forth the code and creed of the *qalandars*. A round of wine is called for to drown the cares of world and career (1). Instead of concerning themselves with such matters--the concerns of clerics and government officials and even career-Sufis--they will form their own band, pledging to be generous and gentlemanly with everyone (2), to neither harm nor shame anyone (3), and to hear and say no evil about anyone (4), as they will be wholly busied with their own faults (5).

Up to this point (with the exception of line 1), the poem reads very much like the vows of an ascetic or pious order. Since the rest of society has not taken the same pledge of non-interference in the affairs of others, the poet and his band are confronted with the unsolicited advice to look to the end of things (6, *'āqabat be-ngar*). This phrase implies both that they should consider the punishment or reward for their earthly works on the Day of Judgement, and also that they should not frivolously or idealistically squander away their youth and wealth, but should concentrate on building social position for themselves, which would, of course, require a different code of ethics. When the poet replies to this counsel on the behalf of his gang, it becomes clear that they

are not ascetics, but revelers delighting in the illicitness of their activities (love, drink and gambling), activities which, in the *malāmati* or *qalandari* code, will destroy the temptation to make religious observance and ascetic austerity into a source of personal or social pride (as did Lucifer in Poem 7.2).

Toward that end, they flaunt their debauchery in lines 7-9, celebrating their love for beautiful bodies, their constant drinking and gambling, permitting them to claim, with evident pride, that everyone is better than they, who are the worst of all (9b, *hameh az mā beh-and o mā batar-im*). This ultimate degradation, however, infuses them with great spiritual and ethical sensibility such that they would never consent to enslave the men who wagered and lost all (10a, *pāk-bāzān*). The word *pāk-bāz* (a compound word composed of the words *pāk*--pure/clean--and *bāz*--play/player) means a "total loser" (those gamblers who have lost everything), those who wager all they have, and also, those who do not cheat when gambling. Having lost their shirts, they must sell themselves, or be indentured to the winner. The word also has religious connotations germane to this context: *pāk-bāz* can mean an ascetic, one who is wholly unsullied by the world; in love, it means one devoted to the beloved without hope of physical union; and also, in Sufi vocabulary, one who is wholly pure and dedicated to spiritual values, even though it is not to his outwardly to his advantage (i.e., it brings no spiritual or social station

to him). Our band of debauchees aspire to the status of being such "losers" in both this world and the next. Recognizing their inward station, they would not, even at the lowest possible price of a barley grain, indenture them by wagering against or ransom them at this price from their hard-won abasement.

The last two lines sum up the creed of the band of profligates: they are lovers of beauties and red wine (*sorx may*), squanderers of the wealth and reputation of their fathers and mothers (11). The word *āl* (11b) means both family and also red, thus hinting that family ties are blood ties, subtly suggesting that the drinkers are related by the blood of the grape.¹⁰⁵ The last line then offers a prayer--let our fathers receive their subsistence (12a, *mozd*, literally wage) from God, because they will surely not receive it from prodigal sons (*nā xalaf pesar*, sons who behave badly and are thus not successors to their fathers) like us. Alternatively, we could read the last hemistich as meaning: let God give sustenance to our fathers, for He will not give it to bad boys like us. In either case, the insinuation is that drinkers waste their money on wine, just as spiritual or ethical integrity comes at the cost of losing worldly fame and success.

¹⁰⁵ There is a manuscript variant reading *māl* for *āl*, which would mean, somewhat more prosaically, that the debauched sons are squandering the money of their parents to buy wine.

This theme harks back to the fatherly advice given in line 6. The call for wine which opens the poem thus returns in line 11, after the poem has adumbrated two aspects of the code of this band of youthful friends--the austere piety of doing good to all others (2-5) and the manifesto of rebellious antinomianism (7-10), triggered by the Polonius-like advice from an unnamed, but fatherly figure, who is again dismissed in the last two lines, with the rejection of social and familial (as well as conventional religious) values.

9.2

Ghazal 231

Meter: *Hazaj mosaddas mahduf* → 0--- 0--- 0---

Lines: 12 **Rhyme:** am **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: Mo'ezzi's requiem for a murdered nobleman (Div406-7), begins similarly. The opening portion of this poem thus resembles a threnody or an ascetic poem (*zohdieh*). Many of Sanā'i's *galandari* poems are conceived in opposition to the ethos of preacherly asceticism found in the *zohdieh*. There are also several poems rhyming in *am* without *radif* dedicated to Moḥammad as the perfect man (Qaṣ169, 174, 175 and possibly 180). Another poem on spiritual matters in this rhyme and meter is found in Poem 8.4 above. Other poems in this rhyme and meter include Qaṣ76, 175, and 306.

Text: MR only, 7 variants. Reading *rowṣeh* for *kowsar* in 7a.

The conflict between the path of the law and asceticism and the path of joy and spiritual ecstasy is illustrated in dialogue form in this poem. The poet presents the antinomian brief, arguing against a rigid concern with piety, the fear of hell and the hope for heaven, an attitude that had already been discussed at length by numerous Sufis (e.g, al-Hojviri, al-Sarrāj, al-Qoṣayri, Rābi'ah).¹⁰⁶ As in Poem 7.2, pride in

¹⁰⁶ For a short synopsis of the views on this subject and the various terms for fear, see M. Smith, *Rabi'a The Mystic, A.D. 717-801 and Her Fellow Saints in Islam*, (Cambridge:

acts of obedience and religious observance is seen as a grave danger to the soul, particularly because there is no permanence to a man's station in the world (1b), though the expression of this thought is deliberately tinged with the epicurean and anacreontic ethos of older Persian wine poetry (2), which sees the enjoyment of the fruits of the vine as a remedy to the short and brutish nature of life. Such wine drinking is condemned by religious law, however, and the poet no sooner utters this thought than he rushes to defend himself from the charge of heresy, claiming insouciance, if not ignorance, about the story of what happened to Lucifer (*eblis*) as a result of his failure to bow to Adam (3).

Here the dialogue format gives a sense of dramatic development to the poem, though it is actually more like an apostrophe to an absent opponent or a dialogue recalled, now presented in monologue fashion, rather than the actual *monāzereh* form of the debate poem, characterized by its repetition of the formula he said/he replied (*goft/goftā*) in each hemistich. The poet responds to the remonstrations and counsel of a character representing the ascetic and preacherly attitude toward religion. The speaking persona insists he does not care about the theological and mythological reasons for the need to obey the law (3), insists he will drink wine in violation of the law (4a), and refuses to show himself as

Cambridge University Press, 1928), part 2, chapter 8.

a pious and observant believer, as he does not want to be thought of highly (4b).¹⁰⁷

Next, the poet's persona insists on turning to the east, away from the proper point of spiritual orientation--the Kaaba. This is an allusion to the Qur'ānic verse (Q2:142) addressing the change of the *qiblah*, or direction of prayer, from Jerusalem to Mecca, which was a cause of some consternation in the early Muslim community:

The foolish people will say what has turned them from the Qiblah to which they were accustomed: Say: Both east and west belong to God; He guides whomsoever He wishes to the straight path.

It may also recall the dispute over God between Abraham and a powerful man who claimed, like God, control over the life and death of his own underlings. Abraham confounds the man by demanding that he cause the sun to rise in the west, just as God makes it rise in the east (Q:2:258).

The poem, however, argues subtly on behalf of Zoroastrianism or even paganism, by turning to the east, and the rising sun, an object of worship to the pagan sun cults of pre-Islamic eastern Afghanistan, as well as an object of veneration in Zoroastrianism (see note ???, below). Since the East and West both belong to God, the poet asks, why make such

¹⁰⁷ *Kam zadan* can also mean to wager everything on a single bet, but since gambling at all, whether recklessly or not, is illicit with respect to the *šarī'ah*, this meaning is unlikely. The technical meaning, which is part of the vocabulary of both ascetic and gnostic approaches, of hiding one's piety or showing oneself to be less pious than one is, is what is intended here. See Mo'in, *Farhang-e Fārsi*, s.v. "*kam zadan*."

a fuss about the orientation of a man's worship (5)? In harmony with his eastern orientation, the poet worships the beauty of nature (the sun), admires the beauty of the beloved, partakes of wine and enjoys the beloved's ruby lips (6a). This creed is contrasted with the topography of the sanctuary of the Kaaba at Mecca (line 6), representing Muslim sacrality, with its pillar (*rukṇ*) by the Black Stone; the sacred spot, or "station," where it is believed Abraham stood (*maqām Ebrāhim*) when he laid the Kaaba's foundations with Ishmael (Q:2:125-7);¹⁰⁸ and the sacred water in the well of Zamzam.¹⁰⁹

The poet grants that his interlocutor's adherence to these symbols of Islam will surely win for him entrance into the gardens of heaven (*rowzeh*)¹¹⁰ and the highest realms of paradise (*xold*) and, allows that his own failure of strict observance will consign him to hell.¹¹¹ But then, the poet

¹⁰⁸ On the northeast side of the Kaaba, on the circumambulation runway, just inside the Bāb Banī Šaybah, covered by a small dome.

¹⁰⁹ Located on the eastern corner of the Kaaba, just outside the circumambulation runway, *maṭāf*.

¹¹⁰ I have preferred the reading *rowzeh* to *kowgar* (the river of wine that flows in paradise) because the levels of heaven seem to be the issue, although the wine image would resonate with the water of Zamzam from the previous line. Abū al-Ḥasan Nūrī in his *Maqāmāt al-qulūb* (137) identifies three plateaus or gardens (*rawzah*) in the gnostic search, the first being the severity of God, which is dominated by prudity, the attribute of our preacher. Quoted in P. Nwiya, *Exégèse Coranique*, 335.

¹¹¹ An interesting manuscript variant reads *bām-e jahannam*, which would mean the roof, or higher levels of hell.

raises a counter-argument from the Qur'ān itself. The sleepers in Cave were youths who went into seclusion with their watchdog, because their people were worshipping false Gods. God put them to sleep for a number of years (Q18:11), after which they were awakened and were afraid to return to town for fear of being stoned by their people for following a different cult (18:19-20). The dog in the cave did nothing but stretch his feet out on the threshold, guarding the inhabitants who were, in any case, being supernaturally protected by God (18:18). So what was it that this heroic dog (a creature considered ritually impure in Islamic law) did to earn him entrance into heaven?

Balaam, the Amorite soothsayer, is remembered unfavorably in the Old Testament, as a seer who put his powers at the disposal of Israel's enemies for monetary profit, except in Numbers 24:12-13, where he is used, against his will, as an instrument of the Lord by prophesying Israel's victories over Moab. He is not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, though it is thought by some commentators that the Qur'ān (7:175-6) does refer to him as a man who was sent signs from God, but ignored them at the behest of Satan. This man is said to resemble a dog who lolls out his tongue whether you leave him be or set upon him. It is likely this latter verse which suggests the juxtaposition of Balaam and the Dog of the Cave that we encounter in line 8. Though Balaam is condemned, God used him as an instrument to achieve His will; though the dog is

praised, it did nothing but lie sleeping as God watched over. So what sin did the former commit and what service did the latter perform?

In the pericope about the sleepers in the Cave (Q18:9-22), several disputes are mentioned: over how long the youths were asleep (Q18:19), how many there were in the cave (Q18:22), how they should be remembered or venerated by the people (Q18:21), and how long they were in Cave (Q18:26). In each of these cases, the Qur'ān says "Your Lord knows best" (*rabbukum a'lam*) or "My Lord knows best" (*rabbi a'lam*), and finally, "God knows best" (*Allāhu a'lam*), discouraging contention over these obscure matters of religion.

Likewise, the poet ends this section with the admission that he does not know what will be the end of himself or his addressee on the Judgement Day, God knows best (*allāho a'lam*, 10). In the moral he draws to close the argument and the poem, the poet suggests that the preacher's insistence on Islam is based on the outward rituals (11), just as the dispute on the length of time the sleepers were in the Cave is focussed on the non-essential elements of the story, and is ignorant of the inner meaning. He rebukes the rebuker, urging him to follow home the meaning (*ma'ni*, 12a), an important concept that recurs in Sanā'i's poetry (cf., poem 7.5, poem 9.3, Gh172 and Gh290), rather than circling around the outward claims. The suggestion is, of course, that the *galandar* or *kam-zan*--the one who appears outwardly non-conformist and

impious--is actually the one who observes the true meaning of religion.

The Qur'ānic passages following the Cave pericope, which urge the believers to look to their own souls and not to worry about the unbelievers (18:27-31), would quite possibly intrude into this poem as a subconscious sub-text for a reader well-versed in the Qur'ān, such as we must assume the preacher in the poem to be. Another instance of intertextuality between the poem and the Qur'ān occurs in the images of the turning world (1) and the sun or east as a place of worship (5). In the Cave pericope (18:17), an allusion is made to the sun rising to the right above the cave, turning over it to the left and setting. Though this verse is not specifically present in the poem, it echoes with several of the lines, thus conveying an even greater semiotic charge.

9.3

Ghazal 288

Meter: *Ramal moṣamman mahḍuf* → - - - - - - - - - -

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** *ār* **Radif:** *zan* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: There are over 115 poems in this rhyme, 40 with the same meter and 8 in this same rhyme, meter and *radif* (Qaṣ212-13, the strophe on p719 and Gh288-92. These poems, because of the imperative form of the verb, tend to be homiletic in intent, but Qaṣ212, another *qalandari* sermon, is especially similar. Although the *radif* differs, the rhyme, theme and meter of Qaṣ92, 143-4, and 220 are also very similar.

Text: MR only, no variants, no emendations.

Stressing once again the meaning (*ma`ni*, 1b and 4b; see 9.2 above) behind the outward forms of worship, Sanā'i offers here a sermon on the ways of following the spiritual path, not the path of pietistic religion, but that of gnostic

understanding. The wine drinker and lover of mortal beauties is associated once again with the Magian creed, and tying on the sacred ritual cord (*zonnār*, 1a) worn by Zoroastrian male believers or by Christians,¹¹² which seems to convey some legitimacy on the act of wine-drinking, as if by girding oneself with this cord, one assumes the role of priest and can trans-substantiate the wine.¹¹³

Rhetorically, perforce the *radif*, this poem is cast as a homily or catechism, a guide-book for those walking the mystic path. The wine topos in the first and second lines, along with the desire to act badly before the non-initiated public

¹¹² For a description of the *kosti* (MP *kustīg*) the belt worn by Zoroastrian males from the age of maturity, see F. Vahman, *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, The Iranian 'Divina Commedia'* (London: Curzon Press, 1986), 253. Note that the word *zonnār* is not derived from the Zoroastrian *kosti*, but rather from the Greek *zōnarion* or *zōné*, a belt worn by either sex, and given by Aphrodite to Hera (*Iliad* 14.214f) to enable her to seduce Zeus, but more immediately, in the Persian imagination, associated with Christian vestments, especially the band by which a cross is suspended from the neck. The word *zonnār* is apparently not attested in Middle Persian literature, but does appear in the Arabic poetry of the Abbasid period, e.g., Abū Nuwās, *Šarḥ dīwān Abī Nuwās*, ed. ʿIliyā al-Ḥāwī, 2 vols., (Beirut: al-Šarakat al-ʿālamīyyah li'l-kitāb, 1987), 1:427, 430, 450.

¹¹³ Along with the *sudre*, or cotton shirt, the *kosti* is the outward symbol of being a Zoroastrian. As explained by Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherjirana in a catechism written in 1869 in Gujarati, tying on the *kosti* signifies that one is "always prepared to pray and to remember God. Just as a man ties his belt in preparation for doing some work, so in order to pray, we always tie the *kusti* around our waist. By always having our waist tied with the *kusti* we are always, in every breath, remembering God." When tying on the *kosti*, the believer should face the rising sun. See F. Kotwal and J. Boyd, eds., *A Guide to the Zoroastrian Tradition*, (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982), 39-45.

in the last line are what gives the poem its specifically *qalandari* or *malāmāti* orientation; otherwise it differs little from ordinary Sufi initiation poems and sermons (see Set 10 and 11). We are to follow the wine-drinking *qalandar*, not the normal by-ways of religious and philosophical disputation and speculation (*qil o qāl*, 3a), which are useless or even forbidden (*lā yajuz*, 3a) in the environs of the heart. We must board up the house of striving and self-cultivation (*hemmat*, 3b)¹¹⁴ with the spike of our being (3) and set out on our journey, unconcerned and unaccompanied by the Self (4a), camping before the door of mysteries (*asrār*, 4a). The secret mystery (*sirr*, pl. *asrār*) is both the interior conscience of an individual, and in Sufi parlance, especially in the plural, the mysteries of the unseen world. It can refer to the pre-eternal investiture of the soul with its ego-identity.¹¹⁵ It is a secret that must be kept by the mystic and not revealed to the uninitiated.¹¹⁶

In order to pass beyond that mysterious door, one must kill the Self by draining a poison mixed with snake's venom and honey (5), the Self-suicide being not so much a bitter

¹¹⁴ Cf. the similar image in Gh291:2, *bar dar-e hasti yeki az nistī mesmār zan*.

¹¹⁵ See L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, 2nd ed., (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1968), 298.

¹¹⁶ G. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qurānic Hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl At-Tustarī*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 191-4 and 195ff.

death as a sweet hope for passing beyond the Self. The seeker thus achieves gnosis by crossing the threshold into the inner sanctum of the divine realm, which is, in fact, through the double meaning of the word *sirr*, both the mysterious beyond and the interior of the believer's own soul (recall the Delphic wisdom, *gnōthi seauton*, know thyself). This state is achieved by consuming a lethal poison (5), which is none other than the wine of the first lines (1-2), a honeyed potion which both kills the intellect and makes divine intoxication possible.

To keep the secret, one must pretend not to be enlightened when around the uninitiated, hence the *qalandari*'s dissimulation. He pretends to be a drunkard and a libertine so that none will guess he has seen the light of true mystic meaning. The hemline of precious robes were often inscribed with the name of the owner and, if a potentate or state official, with his titles, as a reminder of his glory and station. For the *qalandar*, his station in the exoteric world, the world of seeming appearance (*rang-e zāher*, 6b) is that of a bandit, shyster or impostor (*ṭarrār*, 6b) who pretends to be wayward, and it is in this ill repute that he glories in the world.

Note that lines 3a and 4a echo the rhyme (*ār), whereas 5a repeats the rhyme and radif, aurally signalling the approaching conclusion.

Meter: *Hazaj axrab makfuf maḥḍuf* → --- 0-0- 0--

Lines: 9 **Rhyme:** ar **Radif:** zad **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: More than 90 other poems share this rhyme. Qaṣ300 and Gh273 share the rhyme and theme as well as a similar *radif* based on the verb *zadan*. Of the seven other poems in this rhyme and meter, only Gh265 treats a similar wine theme. Qaṣ211 shares a similar *radif* and theme.

Text: MR only, 6 variants. Reading *dar ātaš* in line 5b for *v-az*

This poem neatly inverts the theme of the libertine boy who converts to ascetic religiosity in Poem 5.1. Here, the beloved, after having been devout and reverential (2a), becomes a debauched *rend* or *galandar*. In the earlier case, the effect of the beloved's conversion brought an end to the physical love affair; in this case, though the relationship is not terminated, the effect of the beloved's changed ways on the lover is equally harrowing, though not without its metaphysical benefits.

The poem begins with the lover speaking about his beloved (1), followed by two lines describing the change in the beloved's ways (2-3), and two lines explaining the effect this change has produced in the poet (4-5; also in 1a). Two further lines (6-7) explain the collective effect that the beloved's outrageous and heretical ways have had on the followers of other religions. Finally, the last two lines return to the subject of lines 4-5 and how the beloved's conversion has impacted the lover, who realizes that, though the change was not to his taste, it has expanded his horizons and left his mouth watering for more (8).

He obliquely questions the beloved about his behavior (9a), offering a possible reason for it, one which the poet hopes is true; the lover says he would be happy to know that the beloved produced these transformations by reaching out to achieve his own desires (*morād*, 9b), which might be outwardly understood as the libertine's pleasures of the flesh, but inwardly, as the gnostic's attainment of mystical insight into the meaning behind the outward forms of religion. The object of desire (*morād*) is also used to mean the mentor or guru, and the overtone of this connotation may suggest that the beloved has become a spiritual preceptor through his antinomian ways. The desired object, held up in the hand, is also the wine glass, the contents of which have been spilled into hell-fire to forge the lover's new being (5), onto the sacred fire of the Zoroastrians (7), and into the mouth of the lover (8), intoxicating the very saints (6).¹¹⁷

I have preferred to read *dar ātaš* in 5a because this metallurgical process does not end with the lover in paradise. He is being heated in the fires of hell and then doused with cooling liquid to make him malleable, a process required before he can be turned into a circular door-knocker, as in the previous line (4). A logical narrative progression would

¹¹⁷ Note also that *bar zadan* can mean to keep count of one's gambling wins and losses on the fingers, an image that would also square with the *galandar*. *Bar zadan* likewise connotes hitting or striking, which could be how the lover feels the effects of the beloved's actions, and is indeed what happens to the lover/door knocker in line 4b.

demand line 5 precede line 4, as the hammering of the metal into a ring occurs after heating. It is possible that the lines are out of order, but it is also plausible that the poet's recollection of his own forging recounts the images of the past in disorder or in disparate fragments.

9.5

Qaṣideh 42

Meter: *Ramal moṣamman maxbun mahḍuf* → uu-- uu-- uu-- (uu)-

Lines: 8 **Rhyme:** *ast* **Radif:** none **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: There are about 75 other poems in *ramal maxbun*, 56 of them in an octameter measure. There are more than 260 in *ramal sālem*. Gh42 shares the *ramal* meter and the rhyme, as well as including the wine theme. Gh26, 43, 53 share wine theme in this rhyme, as do a number of *robā'i* (64, 67, 69, 70, 270). There are, in addition, a number of poems that have *ast* as part of their *radif* (e.g., *asti*, *nist* or *ast*), all of which treat the *qalandari* or wine theme (Qaṣ43, Qaṣ52, Qaṣ276 and Rob77) and some of which also employ the *ramal* meter (Qaṣ31, Qaṣ49, Gh64). Gh362 is thematically quite similar.

Text: MR only, 9 variants, line 6 emendation.

The beloved in this poem typifies the literary motif of the beloved as *qalandar*, whose brazenly seductive and blatantly illicit behavior throws the entire town into tumult.

A similar theme can be found in several other ghazals by Sanā'i (see Poem 2.4 above), and it eventually developed into a sub-genre of the ghazal all its own. Again, the tying on of the wine-cincture (1a, *zonnār*), which is worshipped by an idol (*bot*) in the ruins, carries with it implications of paganism and apostasy. Beyond that, it also suggests something of a political revolt, with the blasphemous standard (2b, *'alam-e kofr*) of Zoroastrian wine-worship (1a, *zonnār-parast*) unfurled and paraded toward the town (1a, *šahr*), armed with a goblet. In the imaginary topography of this poem, the ruins (1b,

xarābāt) must be situated in the Zoroastrian, sun-worshipping east, with the town to the west, representing Islam. Similarly, the Abbasids, following the prophecy about the appearance of the Hidden Imam, had raised the black standard of revolt against the Umayyads in Khorasan and marched west to the capital at Damascus, ushering in the revolution (1a, *šur*).

After describing the flagrantly disreputable and drunken demeanor of the beloved (2), the poet interrupts the narrative with an aside that prosaically reveals that the drunkenness described is the ecstasy of the mystic encounter: the one who goes out through the door of being and nothingness attains Nothing (3), which ought to be understood here as a calque on *fanā*, annihilation of the concupiscent self, or nirvana. Those who love the debauched beloved (4a, *qallāš-del*) who yet professes the monastic creed (*rahbān-kiš*), are wounded by this love (4); they are like lovers who, having clandestinely entered the bed chamber of the royal beloved and gazed upon her cheeks, are struck down by the guard who leaps from behind the curtain (5).

But this curtain is the curtain of supposition and desire (5a, *pendār o havā*), indicating an incomplete appreciation on the seeker's part of the station of the beloved. Indeed, even a saint cannot look upon him without being converted into wearing the forty-knotted cincture (6b, *zonnār*, though the allusion to the number of knots recalls the Zoroastrian *kosti*). Such are the powers of this icon of the wine ruins,

like God, he takes his disciples, who are the mortal beings in the dust of the wine tavern, and animates and infuses them with such beauty that he himself falls to worship them (7).

The poem returns to the theme of pagan revolt expounded in the first line and closes with a report of the total nature of the revolution brought about by this shocking idol. No longer do the worshippers go to the Kaaba, which can offer only the worship of dry piety and spiritual conceits (8a, *ṭāmāt*), but have all turned to the idol pavilion, such that no empty seat can be found there to worship from. Thus, when the mystic is not graced with a state of gnostic union with the beloved, he returns to the outward mode of pietistic worship, shouting "Here I am (O Lord)" with the pilgrims around the Kaaba.

Set 10: Sufic Ghazals

This set consists of five poems clearly composed and/or recited for Sufi study groups, initiation rituals, and worship circles. Like catechisms or sermons, some of Sanā'i's ghazals preach to the novices or simply give poetic expression to the aims and philosophy of the gnostic path. Others seem clearly connected with accepting individuals into the order or promoting them from one rank (*maqām*) to the next. The anthem-like poems, which celebrate and define group identity, might have been used in Sufi study sessions and lectures, such as that described in the panegyric for Moḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr in Saraxs (Poem 7.5) and in the occasional poem (Qeṭ92)

dedicating that same patron's new Sufi center (*xāngāh* or *xānqāh*), evidently modeled to function like a mosque, with a hospice, hospital, library and attendant lecture classes (Qeṭ92:2). Sanā'i quite likely composed such poems not only in Saraxs and Balkh, but also in Ghazna, because many of the poems for Bahrāmšāh (as noted in Chapter Two) share the features of these Sufi homilies as well as the praise poems for the Sufi *Pir* or *Shaykh*.

Sanā'i's approach to the teachings of previous Sufis was rather eclectic, though these poems clearly suggest that he was associated at some point with, if not an actual order, an organized circle (or perhaps more than one) of Sufi-minded judges and worshippers. His approach is ecumenical, rather than dogmatic, arguing against a stringent adherence to the doctrines of this or that Sufi saint, school or order in favor of an experiential understanding of the meaning behind these statements. There are a substantial number of such poems of this nature in the *Divān*--anywhere from forty to over ninety, depending on how strict a taxonomy one wishes to create and how widely one casts the net to find Sufi vocabulary.¹¹⁸ Having begun his career with poems composed for meetings of jurists and preachers, it required no great transformation of rhetorical style to provide similar homiletic and occasion-

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of everyday words that were used with a specific technical meaning by the Sufis, see Massignon, *Lexique technique*, op. cit., and P. Nwiya, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq Éditeurs [Imprimerie Catholique], 1970).

affirming poems for the mystically-minded juridical scholars or gnostic circles in which Sanā'i travelled in Khorasan.

Most of the wine and *qalandari* poems we have already seen (Set 8 and Set 9, above) can be considered sub-genres or modes of the Sufi catechisms and sermons, or of the praise poems directed at a spiritual master. Indeed, many of the praise poems described in Set 1 and the love poems exemplified in Set 2 through Set 5 also, no doubt, could be tailored for Sufi audiences; in many of these poems the language is ambiguous or abstract, while in others the beloved is described by certain words or phrases that suggest a religious figure, a royal patron, or a profane object of desire. It is often difficult to determine exactly what functions a given ghazal might have and to whom or what it might have been addressed, though this would have become quite clear in the performance setting, whether a musician, the poet himself, or the initiates into a mystical lecture circle or brotherhood were reciting or singing it.

The poems in this set should be seen as exemplary of five separate sub-genres or categories of the mystical or Sufi ghazal. The first three distinct sub-genres are all homiletic in mood: 1) poems which seem to describe an initiation ritual or a ritual of promotion to a new rank or stage (*maqām*) on the mystical path; 2) sermons, often almost like catechisms, describing how one should follow the mystical path; and 3), a sub-genre of the former, homiletic ghazals elaborating and

expounding upon the nature of true mystic love, in which the code of chivalrous love is adapted and codified into a specifically mystical code for the brethren of the path of love. In these "School of Love" or *fedele d'amore* poems, the word 'ešq is frequently repeated, sometimes even as a *radif*.

In addition to these homiletic moods of the mystical ghazal, there are celebratory moods as well, including 4) ghazals serving as anthems for a particular troupe of Sufis; and 5) ghazals offered in praise of a spiritual leader, sometimes a specific figure or mystical teacher from the history of Sufism, and sometimes a living contemporary, one whose identity is not explicitly divulged in the text. Although each of these five sub-categories of the "Sufic" ghazal could be treated as a separate set, for reasons of space, they have been condensed into a single category here.

10.1

Ghazal 361

Meter: *Ramāl moṣamman-e maḥḍuf* → - - - - -

Lines: 10 **Rhyme:** *āneh* **Radif:** *i* **Taxallos:** last line

Similar Poems: Many other poems share the "School of love" theme set forth here (e.g., Gh60, Gh87, Gh139, Gh201). Only four other poems share the rhyme (Rob311, Gh129 [Poem 7.2], Gh337, Gh360). See Poem 1.1 for the meter.

Text: MR only, 7 variants, no emendations.

If anyone still entertains any doubt that the love spoken of in Persian ghazal poetry is a conventional symbol and not a personal expression of love to a paramour in verse, this sub-genre of poems--on the School of Love--which speak of being "in love with love" and describe the code of honor of the lovers, as in the many Islamic works on the theory of

love,¹¹⁹ should finally dispel this assumption. There are at least a dozen such poems in Sanā'i's *Divān*, some with the rather striking refrain (*radif*) of "love" (*'ešq*), and they sometimes provide manual-like explanations of many of the images of love appearing in Sanā'i's other poems.¹²⁰ The love in these poems is abstract, not addressed to a specific beloved, and the rhetoric is primarily homiletic. The intended audience for the poems is certainly Sufis or those interested in a mystical approach to love, as the topoi of suffering love, etc., are invested with inescapably philosophic and anagogic significance. The love spoken of in these poems draws extensively from a number of didactic and theoretical works on Sufism; further exploration of the poems in the light of those works, would doubtless yield many further insights.¹²¹ It is important to note, however, that as early as the 3rd/9th century, Bāyazid Beṣṭāmī was already speaking of the love of God in terms of the profane word *'ešq* (love), which occurs as the *radif* in seventeen poems in the

¹¹⁹ For a history of the genre and a discussion of the various views of love in Islamicate poetries, see L. Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre* (New York and London: New York University Press and University of London Press, 1971), and J. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979).

¹²⁰ C.f. Ghazals 96, 121, 168, 201, 233; *Qaṣīdehs* 76, 137, 138, 205, 213, 216; and *Robā'is* 305, 308 and 315, among others

¹²¹ For example, Ebn al-Monavvar's *Asrār al-towḥīd* and Hojviri's *Kašf al-maḥjūb*, as well as a number of Arabic predecessors. For an exposition of the Sufi's theory of love, see H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*.

Divān of Sanā'i (Qaṣ156, Gh199-201 and Rob303-315), not including the *radif* 'āšeq (lover), which occurs in Ghazal 198.

The notion of living in the same house with the lovers (1) is perhaps a polysemous metaphor, meaning that all those present in the room for the recitation of the poem are "inhabitants" of the same house; that the Sufis live together in the *xānqāh* of their order; and, alluding to the various houses/stages (*manzel*, *manāzel*) of mystical progress and spiritual development, as a call to a straggler to join the true lovers at the next stage of the soul's ascent to God. It recurs in the poems of other Sufi poets, such as Rumi.¹²² The disciple addressed attends the nightly meetings of the Sufi *xānqāh* and professes them to be his guiding light and candle, but he will not wholly commit himself to their discipline (3), but is instead two-faced, like a comb with teeth on both edges (2). The novice is then upbraided for travelling the spiritual path crookedly, like the queen in a chess game, moving in any direction she pleases, rather than following the straight path (4). Because he follows his own desires, he finds no peace in the company of the Sufis (6). A lover unchains himself from reason and prudence; one shackled by his intellect can never be a lover, whereas anyone

¹²² cf. the poem beginning *Hilat rahā kon 'āšeqā divāneh šow divāneh šow*, with the following second line: *ham xviš rā bigāneh kon ham xāneh rā virāneh kon / v-ān-gah biā bā 'āšeqān ham xāneh šow ham xāneh šow* (make yourself a stranger to yourself and raze your home to the ground; then come and move in with the lovers, live with the lovers).

who is not a lover is mad, and deserves to be chained up (5).

The fact that this particular initiate follows his own interests indicates he is in love with himself, rather than with the Sufis or their goal (10). He is in love with an idol which enjoys a high social station (*ṣadr*), and this station has interfered with his worship, causing him to be trampled on the idols' threshold (7). Returning to the opening theme of the home, the poet now calls upon the disciple to leave the shelter of his home for the warmth and sunshine of the plain (8).

The appropriate bait is then offered to coax the novice to join the Sufis wholeheartedly (9), forsaking the shelter of his personal schemes and objectives, as described above. The frequent reference to trap and bait found in the Sufi-oriented poems makes one wonder whether it does not epithetically designate a ritual or allude to some feature or prop of the gatherings of Sufis in their *xānqāh*. This poem clearly addresses a Sufi initiate or a back-sliding brethren of the path, and shares dīcanic features from the complaint of love poems (Set 4), along with the homiletic and catechistic tenor of some of the religious and Sufi poems in Set 7 and Set 10.

10.2

Ghazal 11

Meter: *Ramāl moṣamman-e maḥḍuf* → -0-- -0-- -0-- -0--

Lines: 6 **Rhyme:** *ām* **Radif:** *rā* **Taxalloṣ:** none

Similar Poems: See the wine poems in Set 8, especially poem 8.4, which also diverts the wine topos to didactic purpose. This poem tends more toward the epicurean or stoic view of wine as a release from sorrow (see discussion of Poem 8.1) rather than wine as a nectar that brings ecstatic intoxication (as found in Qaṣ8 and Gh267). Of the 37 poems in this rhyme,

four others share the wine theme (Gh10, Gh64, Gh200, Gh306, Qaṣ49). All of these four poems are in the same meter, and Gh10 also employs the same *radif* as well).

Text: MR only, two variants, no emendations

Though following the conventions of the wine poem, the poet here, whether preaching to disciples or providing a meditation for more advanced practitioners, wearily warns of the dangers of insisting dogmatically on the names, teachings, categories and objectives of the Sufi tradition. He calls upon the cup-bearer (*sāqi*, 1a and 4b) to pour out a wine fit for a man who has known the world (*poxteh*, 2b), the effects of greed (*āz*, 3a), and the anxiety of trying to get ahead (*andoh-e piši o biši*, 3b). This cup-bearer is the prince of the party (*mir-e majles*, 2a), the object of admiration of all the assembled guests--either the young and beautiful ephebe (*šāhed*), or the venerable and wise abbey of the order (*pir*).

The poet reflects that, even among the spiritually minded, the desire to win heaven and escape hell (4a) are misplaced. It is to avoid these spiritually petty obsessions that he desires to be drunk, to see reality as it is, rather than constantly measuring and filtering our experiences through the teachings and sayings of Bāyazid, Šebli, Karxi or any other Sufi saint (5a). One has to work for his own transformation and salvation; in the spiritual quest, one does not reach the goal by allegiance to a name (5b). The poet sums up the lesson by saying that, when we go beyond the dimension of the earthly world, fame and infamy, success and failure are not measured by rank (6); whether one is a member

of the spiritual elite (*xāṣṣ*) or an ordinary man (*'ām*, perhaps also a disciple), his worth is determined by his progress along the spiritual path.

10.3

Ghazal 263

Meter: *Hazaj axrab makfuf maḥḍuf* → --o o--o--

Lines: 8 **Rhyme:** *idim* **Radif:** none **Taxalloḡ:** none

Similar Poems: Although there is no real *radif* here, the first three to four lines do contain a partial *radif mahjub*, with the homophone **ān* occurring one syllable before the rhyme. Other Sufi anthems include Gh19, Gh2532, Gh262 and Qaṣ188. The other poems in this rhyme are all *robā'is* (Rob372, 374, 375).

Text: MR only, no variants.

Another poem in denunciation of the pretense of the people of religion, whatever their social standing or occupation. As in the previous poem, what is important is sincerity and purity of motive in the struggle for spiritual attainment, not rank, social station and fame. The poem lists sector after sector of society which lay claim to religious insight--the learned and pious (1), the ascetes (2a), those versed in theology and religious knowledge (2b), those who live in the *xānqāh* and rend their cloaks like Sufis (3), those juridicial scholars who dispute over religious law (4)--but which are one after another caught up in sham and outward show (5a). Having seen, heard, passed the time, worshipped and eaten with these groups, the poet and his band of companions found no truth in their claims (5b), and like the *galandars*, left society and settled in with a beloved (*yār*) in the ruins (*xarābāt*, 6). They devote themselves to serving and pledge to obey this beloved (7), who we can understand as the

unsocialized, unmediated desire for the authentic experience of the numinous. This beloved, or socially unacknowledged preceptor and spiritual guide, is a nobody, but that presents no problem for the unsocialized band of spiritualists, as they are nobodies, as well (8). These nobodies, in the act of singing or wassailing together and commemorating their spiritual journey in a verse anthem, form their own sect and creed. This sense of rallying the social outcasts, who are the inwardly pious, is found in many of the *qalandari* poems in Set 9, as well.

10.4

Ghazal 63

Meter: *Ramal mosamman mahdūf* → -0-- -0-- -0-- -0--

Lines: 8 **Rhyme:** ān **Radif:** *šarṭ nist* **Taxalloṣ:** first line

Similar Poems: There are 26 other poems in this rhyme and meter. Three others also have the *taxalloṣ* in the first line and all of them share the Sufi or mystical ethos (Gh168, Qaṣ206, Qaṣ225). Other catechism poems include Qaṣ98, Gh172, Gh226, Gh294, etc.

Text: MR, 2 variants, but same as Qaṣideh 47 (9 variants), though MR sometimes gives alternate readings in the two versions, as in 1b. 11 variants total in MR versions. Dār al-kotob, further variants. emendations line 5b, 7a

This is one of the many catechisms composed by Sanā'i, in which he sets forth in verse the basic teachings of the path and the proper behavior for Sufi novices. Here the novice is preached the *via negativa*--what he must not do if he wishes to attain the good things of the spiritual path. He cannot be attached to worldly rank or long for happiness when his heart has been wounded by love (1), i.e., when he has committed to the path of love. After begging, as Moses did, to see God, one also may not lay exalted claims in spiritual inebriation,

crying out, like Pharoah's vizier, *Hāmān*, who built a towering palace at Pharoah's command so that he could ascend unto the God of Moses (Q28:38), and undoubtedly was responsible for issuing the proclamation claiming that the Pharoah was the highest god (Q79:24, *fa qālā anā rabbukum al-a'lā*).¹²³ In Sanā'i's poem, however, it would seem to be the Sufi adept who is being warned not to utter potentially blasphemous sentences (*ṣaṭhiāt*) in mystic rapture, such as *anā l-a'lā* ("I am the Most Exalted," 2). This is of course reminiscent of the sentence which the Burning Bush calls out to Moses in the Qur'ān, and which appears two lines later in the poem, *anā Allāh* ("I am God," 4), and to which Hallāj's famous ecstatic claim, *anā al-ḥaqq* ("I am [the] Truth") alludes. This, then, is a fairly clear statement in favor of the methods of the sober Jonaydi Sufis, as opposed to the drunken or ecstatic Sufism practiced by Bāyazid and Hallāj.

In one of his not infrequent displays of misogyny, Sanā'i next says that one whose efforts are feeble, like those of women, must not boast like a champion (real men, *mardān*) of his machismo in love (3).¹²⁴ After hearing God's reply, "I am God" in the desert of Sinai (Q20:14, 27:9, 28:30) there can be no thought of fleeing from a stick as a snake does (4).

¹²³ At least *Hāmān* was guilty in the mind of Sanā'i; the text of the Qur'ān (79:24) does not specify that *Hāmān* was involved in the proclamation of *anā rabbukum al-a'lā*, though it does, in other passages, link *Hāmān* with Pharoah's opposition to Moses (Q28:6-8, 28:38, 40:24 and 40:36).

¹²⁴ E.g., see Qaṣ85:12, Qaṣ115, Qaṣ138, etc.

Once again, the novice is urged on to manliness and combat, and is urged to equip himself properly for the battle (5). One must fight, for it would not be seemly for true champions to sit around in Canaan after finding that Joseph is lost (6). In an apparent rebuke of the role played by Jacob in Surah 12 of the Qur'ān, remaining patient (Jacob, who did not believe the report that Joseph was dead, said that patience was the best counsel for him, Q12:18 and 12:83. See also Poem 7.4) and waiting in such circumstances is condemned. At least, having decided to do nothing but be patient, one must not weep and moan in the house of mourning (*bayt-e ahzān*, i.e., Jacob's tents; line 7).

It is wrong to stay mired in the material world, leading camels around by the nose in the desert (8b), when it has become evident that God's place of alighting is His throne, and not the world. The close of the poem is signalled by the partial repetition of the radif in the first hemistich of the last line (8a), which gives 'arš nist as opposed to the šarṭ nist. Thematically, we have also gone from the social stations of a man on earth (1a), through the physical heavens (1b), and are now contemplating the way-stations of God (*manzel-gāh*), which are beyond the physical world, at His own footstool. Therefore, one should not wander wayward through the deserts, leading the camel (8).

10.5

Ghazal 5

Meter: *Ramāl mosamman mahduf* → -o-- -o-- -o-- -o--

Lines: 9 **Rhyme:** uz **Radif:** rā **Taxalloṣ:** last line

Similar Poems: Other poems of devotion to a spiritual master or Sufi *pir* include Gh34, Gh119, Gh362, Qaş196. There are 7 other poems in this rhyme, two of which (Rob1 and Qaş138) set forth the requirements for following the path of love. One other poem in this rhyme (Poem 1.3) also expresses adoration for a beloved, but lacks the spiritual overtones here encountered. Fifteen other poems in this meter have the definite object marker *rā* as *radif*, an large percentage of which express devotion to a spiritual beloved (Gh4, Gh8, Gh9, Gh12, Gh35, Gh37).

Text: MR only, 6 variants, no emendations.

This expression of love, devotion and submission to a spiritual master, who may even be conceived as the perfect man (*ensān-e kāmēl*), a world-sustaining saint (*qoṭb*) or the Mahdi, shares in common aspects of not only the panegyrical ghazals (Set 6, especially 6.1 and 6.3) and the poems of love and praise (Set 1, especially 1.2-1.5), but also the homoerotic poems (Set 5, especially 5.4). Indeed, many of the poems found in any of these categories might be directed to a spiritual master. This particular poem opens with the poet in rapt contemplation of the hair and face of the beloved (1), with the gaze progressing from the hair (1a) to the face (1b) to the eyes (2) and the gait or movement of the beloved (3).

Each line asserts the overwhelming power of the beloved in terms similar to those ascribed to a victorious sovereign or a military leader. Indeed, the section from line 3 through line 5 employs *topoi* more commonly associated with the panegyrical *qaṣīdeh* than with the ghazal--the need to charge the enemy in the plane of battle (3), the ignoble efforts at rebellion which must be quelled (4), and those who wish ill or harbor plots against the ruler (5a).

At this point, however, the images of power and might are replace with those of beauty, and we return to the topography of the beloved's beauty, contemplated self-reflexively in the mirror (6); the beloved's succulent revivifying lips, which turn the dessicated autumn (or parched summer) to luscious spring (7). Finally, the beloved is asked to "bind the initiates with a kiss" (8), which, as in Poem 10.1, is a kind of bait (*dāneh*) to lure the novice disciples (*now gereftān* and *now āmuz*, 8), who have been earlier described as "pure souled lovers of Sufi temperament" (*'oššāq-e şufi-ţab'-e şāfi-jān*, 2a) into firm commitment to the Sufi path. The beloved, though, has the power to break the trap (*dām*) with his beautiful almond-shaped eyes (*bādām*), thus setting the novice birds free to fly away (advance to the next rank?), since his almond-eyes are hard and can break the trap just as stones can break walnuts (9). Once again, as in poem 10.1, it would seem that some ritual of initiation, recognition or annual graduation from one rank to another, in which the spiritual teacher, viewed as a martial beloved, binds and sets free captive souls, is at issue here.

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